

“It was the best of times, it was the worst of times”

A critical discourse analysis on media evolution

MSc program in Management and International Business

Master's thesis

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to find out 1) what kind of discourses of media evolution can be found from media texts, 2) what kind of understandings and meanings of media evolution are produced in the discourses by journalists and 3) what kind of tensions and connections exist between the identified discourses. I aim to find out how media evolution is represented in the studied articles and how media itself sees media evolution. In the beginning of the research report I will give an overview on globalization and factors framing the new global economy and then move on to describe medialization and challenges within the media industry.

The theoretical and methodological approach of this study is discourse analysis which stems from social constructionism. Discourse analysis is the study of the ways in which language is used in texts and contexts. I will use critical discourse analysis to analyze the selected research material. Critical discourse analysis aims at uncovering deterministic and causal relations that exist between discourses. The main premise of critical discourse analysis is to approach a certain problem of social reality through the study of language. The analysis focuses on how discursive strategies, structures of text and speech, are used to affect recipients. My research material consists of 54 articles, published in Helsingin Sanomat, that discuss or otherwise touch upon media evolution.

As a result of analysis, I identified three discourses out of the selected research material. I named the discourses as discourse of powerlessness, discourse of possibility and discourse of strong professional identity. Journalists repeat themes of concern, unfairness, uncertainty and lack of control and thus affirm the discourse of powerlessness. Media evolution in this discourse is seen as insuperable obstacle in front which journalists cannot do much. In the discourse of possibility journalists see media evolution actually benefiting the industry by developing the ways of working. In addition, journalists do want to maintain strong professional identity and integrity amidst the changes, as indicated in the discourse of strong professional identity.

Keywords media evolution, media, discourse, critical discourse analysis

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Tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää 1) minkälaisia diskursseja median murroksesta on löydettävissä mediateksteistä 2) millaisia representaatioita ja merkityksiä median murroksesta näistä diskursseista muodostuu sekä 3) minkälaisia jännitteitä ja yhteyksiä tutkimuksessa identifioitujen diskurssien välillä on. Tarkoitukseni on selvittää, minkälaista kuvaa artikkelit rakentavat median murroksesta ja mitä median murros median kuvaamana on. Tutkimuksessa median murros on kehystetty globaalin talouden murrokseen laajemmin. Tutkimusraportin aluksi luon katsauksen globalisaatioon ja uuden globaalin talouden keskeisiin tekijöihin ja syvennyn tarkemmin medialisaatioon, haasteisiin mediakentässä sekä erityisesti journalismin murrokseen.

Tutkimuksen teoreettis-metodologinen viitekehys rakentuu sosiaaliseen konstruktionismiin perustuvaan diskurssianalyttiseen lähestymistapaan. Tarkastelun kohteena on se, minkälaisia merkityksiä kielestä ja tekstistä nousee. Analysoin aineiston kriittisen diskurssianalyysin avulla. Kriittisellä diskurssianalyysillä pyritään systemaattisesti tutkimaan usein piilossa olevia deterministisiä ja kausaalisia suhteita, jotka vallitsevat esimerkiksi diskurssien ja laajempien sosiaalisten ja kulttuuristen rakenteiden tai suhteiden ja prosessien välillä. Analyysissa keskeisiä elementtejä ovat tekstin ja puheen rakenteet, diskursiiviset strategiat, joilla vaikutetaan vastaanottajiin. Tutkimusaineistoni koostuu 54 Helsingin Sanomien artikkelista, joissa käsitellään tai muutoin sivutaan median murrosta.

Analyysini tuloksena tunnistin aineistosta yhteensä kolme diskurssia, joiden kautta rakennetaan, ilmennetään ja uusinnetaan kuvaa median murroksesta. Löytämäni diskurssit nimesin voimattomuuden, mahdollisuuden ja vahvan ammatti-identiteetin diskursseiksi. Artikkeleissa journalistit toistavat samoja huolen, epäreiluuden, epävarmuuden ja kontrollin puutteen teemoja ja samalla rakentavat voimattomuuden diskurssia. Median murros nähdään tässä diskurssissa ylitsepääsemättömänä esteenä, jolle journalistit eivät pärjää. Mahdollisuuden diskurssissa journalistit näkevät median murroksen hyödyttävän alaa, sillä se pakottaa journalistit kehittämään työtapojaan. Lisäksi vahvan ammatti-identiteetin diskurssi osoittaa, että journalistit haluavat säilyttää vahvan ammatti-identiteetin ja tinkimättömyyden työssään muutoksen keskellä.

Avainsanat median murros, media, diskurssi, kriittinen diskurssianalyysi

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1. Introduction

“It was the best of times, it was the worst of times” is the famous opening sentence in Charles Dickens’ novel *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859). The novel depicts the plight of the French peasantry subdued by the French aristocrats in the years leading up to the French Revolution. Although the sentence is nearly 160 years old and portrays yet another time, this idea can be applied to the current media evolution which has melded the industry. The media industry has long been in turmoil. Many changes in the global economy have also shaped the media industry quite drastically and many publishing houses have been forced to rethink their revenue models and services. The industry is fragmented and still faces challenges in balancing print and digital media. Despite the changes, media however continues to take center stage in society.

The cultural and societal meaning of media has risen drastically in the past decades. Digital media has created a new, global space where sharing thoughts, beliefs and images is swift and easy. The media today cannot be controlled by people in the same way as in the 20th century when media meant newspapers, radio and films. Helle (2011) claims that economic and cultural globalization, as well as developments in communication technologies, have driven the industry into a turning point. In addition to the changes in ways of working and journalistic tasks, also consumer behavior and media practices have changed. Hurmeranta (2012, p.38) states the current media evolution culminates in digitalization, Internet and convergence. Jenkins (2006, p. 2) defines media convergence as:

“The flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want” (Jenkins 2006).

Due to media convergence, traditional perceptions of media business and communication are challenged. The discussion about media evolution begun already in 1991, when Roger Fidler presented the concept of ‘*media morphosis*’. According to Fidler, the transformation

of media is a complicated process of interaction which is affected by political pressures and competition as well as social and technological innovations. (Fidler 1997, pp.22-23) Media evolution has many dimensions. On the other hand, it affects media companies' revenue and business models, but also changes the journalistic work and its quality.

Also the Finnish media landscape has undergone fundamental changes. News journalism has become a commodity product as a result of digital convergence and changes in the advertising market. The foundations of news journalism - ideals of democratic public interest and social values - have given way to market values. The business side of journalism is ever growing. The traditional revenue models are challenged because print is slowly withering away. Many publishing houses, also in Finland, have resorted to cuts in journalistic resources. In addition, the changes in media consumption due to convergence of media platforms are challenging the newspapers. (Nieminen et al. 2013, p.179)

As exciting as this new media landscape may be for the contemporary media consumer, however, it also raises concerns regarding the greater impact on modern society. It is evident that the media have assumed a central role in society – so central that often it is considered as the Fourth Estate of political power. The metaphor of media as the Fourth Estate means that journalism has an important role maintaining the power balances in society and acting as the independent 'guard dog' of power. (Väliverronen 2012) The ramifications of the new borderless media landscape are indeed fundamental, affecting all aspects of society, from the activities of the individual media consumer, via the plethora of media companies fighting for market shares, to the fundamental principles of representative democracy.

Since our way of seeing things is literally our way of living, the process of communication is in fact the process of community: the sharing of common meanings, and thence common activities and purposes; the offering, reception and comparison of new meanings, leading to tensions and achievements of growth and change. (Williams 1961 p. 55)

Raymond Williams' quote above indicates that studying media and media texts is particularly interesting as it allows us to describe and assess shared meanings in close detail. Journalists often (re)produce commonly held views. (Bourdieu 1998a; 1998b) Bourdieu argues that journalists rely on conventional and common ideas, or commonplaces as Bourdieu calls them. Journalists write what the audience expects from them and what everybody knows and thus reproduce commonly held views. Journalists also pursue specific strategies to link their interpretations with common ideas in a given context. Fairclough sees these strategies as discursive practices. (Fairclough 1995)

Discourse analysis sees language as actions that build social reality. (Suoninen 2006, p.18) Thus the use of language is constructive: it is used to make meanings, build, rebuild and change social reality. (Jokinen et al. 1993, p.18) The focal point in discourse analysis is how meanings are produced in texts and how things are made sense of through language. (Suoninen 2006, p. 18) Vaara and Tienari see discourses constitutive and as a part of social practice. Discourses produce and reproduce knowledge, culture, power and identities in social and societal settings. (Vaara and Tienari 2004, p.344) Therefore, as stated by Fairclough, discourses are important elements of social practices, which are not, however, reducible to discourse, but rather articulations of discourse that contain also non-discursive elements. (Fairclough 2005)

With this study, my aim is to research how journalists make sense of the media evolution in publicly published articles about the revolutionized media industry. I will conduct a critical discourse analysis in which I will analyze articles and editorials published in Helsingin Sanomat. The research objective is to uncover how media understands media evolution and what kinds of discourses can be built from these meanings.

1.1 Premises of study and research objectives

The purpose of this study is to find out how journalists make sense of media evolution and what kind of discourses of media evolution can be identified from these representations. I am particularly interested in how media evolution is spoken of and how journalists understand it amidst the upheaval within the industry. The research material, articles

selected from Helsingin Sanomat, cover a period of 10 years from August 2005 until August 2015. With this timeframe I am able to uncover if the discourses have significantly changed over time along with the intensification of digitalization. These research objectives will be answered by three research questions:

R1 What kind of discourses of media evolution can be found from the studied articles?

R2 What kind of understandings and meanings of media evolution are produced in the discourses by media professionals and journalists?

R3 What kind of tensions exist between the identified discourses?

In the analysis I will first identify the repetitive discourses linked with media evolution. Then I will piece together the meanings of these discourses and what drives the understandings of media evolution. Lastly, I will identify if there exists any tensions or differences between the identified discourses.

1.2 Methodology

Critical discourse analysis studies how social power, its misuse, domination and inequality are generated, maintained and resisted through text and speech. Critical discourse analysis can shed light on how discursive action builds power and institutions through taken-for-granted understandings and meanings that favor some actors and respectively discriminate others (Fairclough 1993, p.135; van Dijk 2001, pp.352–353; Phillips & Hardy 2002, p.27). The presumption of critical discourse analysis is that subjections exist. Consequently, the analysis focuses on the discursive practices that generate, maintain and justify these subjections. Ideology, power, power relations, dominant discourses and suppresses voices are essential in critical discourse analysis.

Critical discourse analysis aims at studying (often hidden) deterministic and causal relations that exist between discourses and extensive social and cultural structures, relations and processes. Critical discourse analysis demonstrates how discursive practices, events and texts are born and developed along with power relations. Language is seen as

both societal output and societal force. Critical discourse analysis scrutinizes the tension between these two perspectives. The analysis focuses on how discursive strategies, structures of text and speech, are used to affect recipients.

1.3 Key definitions

In the following section I will describe three essential concepts for my study. The researcher should clarify in the beginning of the research what different concepts mean and not presume that the reader is familiar with them beforehand. (Jokinen & Juhila 1991, p. 63) The concepts are media, discourse and media evolution. I want to bring these forth and clarify the meaning in this particular study because these concepts might have different meanings in other sources. The concept of discourse is particularly interesting because of its multidimensional and abstract nature.

Media

The word media derives from Latin word medium and refers to a mediator or to a medium, ways of publishing and making public. In technical sense, media refers to all mediums that can convey meanings. (Nieminen & Pantti 2009, p.8) Medias are thus a central part of communication between people, communities and organizations. In the English language, there are two nouns to describe media: the singular word media means an instrument of communication and the plural media stands for the ensemble of all the instruments. In this research the word media is used to describe the entity of advertising medium that convey messages to target groups. The media in the context of this research means the mass media, i.e. the media that create and deliver information and communication over borders and time. In this research traditional media refers to analogue media, i.e. print media and broadcasting.

Discourse

The term 'discourse' is widely used in many disciplines. There are two main distinctive senses: one that is predominant in language studies and the other in post-structuralist social theory. The former presents discourse as a form of social action and interaction. The latter

is present in the works such as Foucault (1978): discourse as a social construction, ‘a form of knowledge’. (Fairclough 1997, p. 18) As Vaara and Tienari state, the definitions of ‘discourse’ and ‘discourse analysis’ are varied and ambiguous. (2004, p.343)

Discourses emerge as of:

“...ways construing particular aspects of the social process that become relatively recurrent and enduring and which necessarily simplify and condense complex realities, include certain aspects of them but not others, and focalize certain aspects whilst marginalizing others.” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 2010, p.1215)

Discourses vary in terms of dominance; some discourses can become recontextualized and endure longer than others. Gaining dominance is a precondition for becoming operationalized and in this situation discourses are transformed into new ways of acting and interacting. (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 2010, p. 1216) Vaara and Tienari see discourses constitutive and as a part of social practice. Discourses produce and reproduce knowledge, culture, power and identities in social and societal settings. (Vaara & Tienari 2004, p.344) Vaara and Tienari point out that analysis of discourses and understanding of discursive acts requires contextual knowledge of social and societal conditions in question. (Vaara & Tienari 2004, p.343)

Media evolution

Defining media evolution is challenging as it has existed as long as media itself. (Hurmeranta 2012, p. 45) The current evolution and its beginning are hard to define, but the 21st century overall has been a period of constant change. The actors within media industries, competition and ways of working are under constant change. The traditional strategies, business models and revenue generation models do not fully work anymore. (Helle 2011, p. 160) In this study, media evolution refers to the forceful changes within the industry and to the questioning of the industry’s foundations. Media is not going through evolution for the first time, as every new device, such as the radio or the tv, has challenged the business models of media companies. Digitalization has been one of the strongest dynamics in the 21st century.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters. In the first introductory chapter I will present the premises of media evolution and introduce the research context and research questions of this study. The second chapter of this study will present the theoretical background of globalization and current trends in the new global economy, and then move on to explain how these changes have affected the media industry. I will focus on medialization and how journalism as a practice has changed due to globalization and other dynamics. Chapter 3 shall discuss the chosen research data of newspaper articles and introduce the research material and methodology used to study these articles. Next, chapter 4 will present context of this study, the Finnish media landscape. After chapter 4, the next chapter 5 will present the findings of this study starting from the most dominant discourse followed by other identified discourses. Finally, chapter 5 will discuss the similarities and differences between these discourses. The final chapter 6 will conclude this thesis by presenting the main objectives, research questions and findings again, and their implications, and place the findings into a larger context.

2. Literature review

Globalization and media are irrevocably connected. Globalization theorist Marshall McLuhan connected the two by combining his two concepts ‘*global village*’ and ‘*the medium is the message*’. (McLuhan and Fiore 1967) McLuhan predicted the global village, one world connected by the electronic nervous system (the media) that would rapidly integrate the planet.

“All media work us over completely. They are so pervasive in their personal, political, economic, aesthetic, psychological, moral, ethical, and social consequences that they leave no part of us untouched, unaffected, unaltered. The medium is the message. Any understanding of social and cultural change is impossible without a knowledge of the way media work as environments. All media are extensions of some human faculty – psychic or physical.” (McLuhan and Fiore 1967, p.26)

In this chapter I will present the background to the media evolution, beginning with globalization and the dynamics within the global economy. Then I will move on to describe the challenges within the media industry and then finally explain what this means for journalistic work.

2.1 Globalization

There are numerous ways of defining globalization. Rantanen (2005, pp.6-8) states that strikingly most of the definitions of globalization do not make distinction between the phenomenon and its consequences. In addition, there is no clear and explicit reference to media and communications, only implicit references. Giddens (1990) defined globalization in the most neutral way, referring to globalization

“...as the intensification of world-wide social relations, which link distant localities in a such way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and

vice versa.” (Giddens 1990, p. 64)

However, also Giddens refers to the consequences by stating, “*local happenings are shaped by events many miles away*” but does not specify how. Whereas for Giddens globalization was about intensification of social relations, Robertson (1992) adopts another approach:

“Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.” (Robertson 1992, p.8)

Robertson refers to globalization as “*intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole*” and thus goes further than Giddens who referred to social relations only.

Nonetheless, the term globalization captures elements of a widespread perception that there is a broadening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of life. Held et al. (1999, pp.2-10) distinguish three broad types of account of the nature and meaning of globalization: the hyperglobalist, the sceptic and the transformalist view. The hyperglobalizers, and the theorists that support this view, predict the erosion and fragmentation of nation-states. The sceptics resist globalization, claim it as a myth, believe that global circumstances now are not unprecedented, and dispute any novelty. The transformation theorists argue that globalization is creating new social, political and economic circumstances that are transforming societies, state powers and the context in which states operate. (Rantanen 2005, p. 5)

Robertson (1992, p.26-7) shows that globalization has accelerated since the beginning of the fourteenth century. Although Robertson sees globalization closely connected to modernity and modernization, he presents five stages of globalization, the first originating already during fourteenth century. Robertson’s model puts the accent on the major constraining tendencies in relatively recent history and does not make any grand assertions about primary factors and the major mechanisms of globalization.

The advocates of globalization argue that globalization is a proof of a changed and ever-changing world. The benefits of globalization are based on the benefits of free trade. Proponents of globalization also argue that the integrated world benefits people in poor and developing countries by giving them access to new ideas and technologies. Thus, for example China's and Taiwan's growth in the past few decades are due to liberalization of their economies. Opponents however argue that globalization causes inequality and that better outcomes are only possible if countries take a step back from globalization and liberal capitalism. Resistance to the forces of globalization and modernity come from a host of sources. (e.g. Kothari 1997; Sassen 1998; Mittelman 2000) From this perspective, China's and Taiwan's growth is due to the fact that the countries have been able to take advantage of the opportunities because of extensive government intervention. However, some critics say that engagement in global economy is intrinsically exploitation already.

The idea of globalization has thus become a framework for conceptualizing a whole range of trends in the domestic and international environments. It can be seen as a set of material developments that inevitably affect political, economic, cultural and technological dimensions within economies. In addition, globalization can also be regarded as an ideological construction that is used to explain or otherwise legitimize domestic and international developments and the way they interact.

In the next chapter, I will describe a framework for understanding the new global economy and the driving forces behind many phenomena. In order to understand mediatization and media evolution, the economic dynamics must be presented first.

2.2 New global economy

The new global economy provides an overall image of world economy and consists of five intertwined factors. (Tienari & Meriläinen 2009, p.13) The global economy and its changes are framed by technologization, financialization, multiculturalism, ecologization and mediatization that all are closely intertwined (Figure 1). There are differing views and definitions for describing the situation and landscape today but no matter how the new global economy is described, the foundation pillars are the same: technology, financing

and capital, people and culture, media and communication and nature. This framework for understanding the new global economy is not exclusive and there are ambiguous views for comprehending the globalized world.

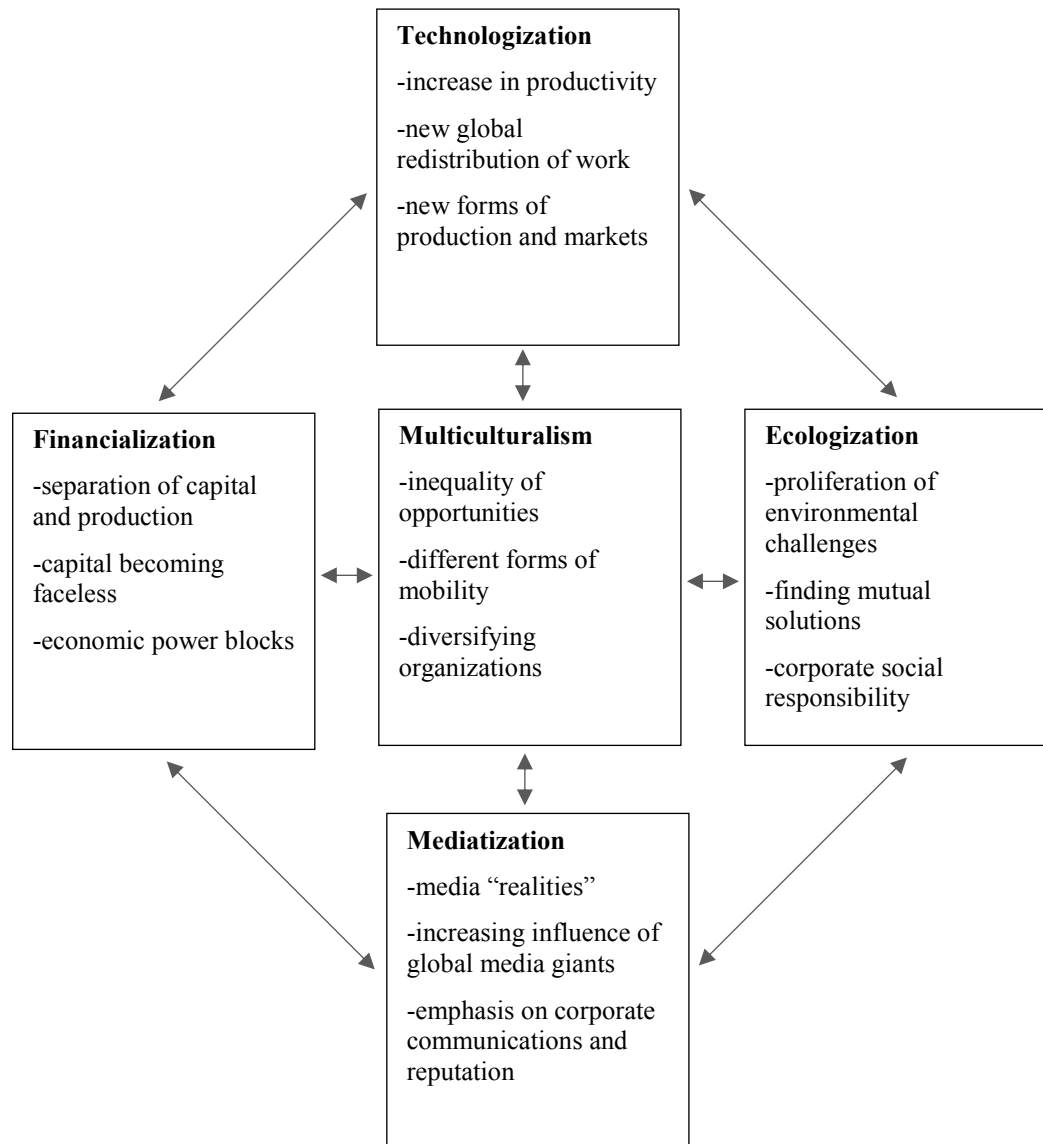


Figure 1: New global economy (Tienari & Meriläinen 2009)

Technologization

Rapid technologization in the past few decades has contributed to the culture of innovation that has develop business models and courses of action. Focal aspects in technologization are the growth of productivity, the global redistribution of work and new markets and methods of production. Technologization has created new ways of conducting business. Goods and services can now move across borders also digitally, and high innovation capacity helps firms to develop products and enhance the production - faster and at a lower cost - which influences the overall firm performance. (Tienari & Meriläinen 2009, p.14-19) Because of innovations communication is faster, markets are more efficient and management of big multinational companies is easier. New innovations bring new forerunners to the market. When one company launches new products or uses new production methods, competition grows tense and others face pressure for change. Technologization is closely linked with digitalization. The digitalization of media means a shift to computer-based systems. Content is produced, edited, stored and distributed electronically as bits. Digitalization allows the convergence of communication systems that means that the same material can be used in different mediums quite effortlessly and thus creating economies of scale.

Financialization

Financialization refers to an economy that is based to global around-the-clock markets in which investors buy and sell stocks, money and ownerships. Stock markets are decontrolled and merged globally. According to Tienari and Meriläinen (2009, p.19), at the center of financialization are separation of capital and production, capital becoming faceless and economic power clusters. The new financialized economy is not unchangeable or stable in any way, but under constant changes. In addition to capital and production, also everyday operations and ownership of a company have separated. Owners expect to get profit from investments which means that companies need to be profitable in order to maximize the investors' profits.

The economic power is concentrated to new power blocks. One such block is the G7. The Group of Seven (G7) is an informal bloc of industrialized democracies - the United States, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom. The G7 is challenged by new coalitions that are formed by strengthening economies. These coalitions are known as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and MINT (Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey). Financialization stems from neoliberalism which is a policy model of social studies and economics that transfers control from the public sector to the private sector. (Neoliberalism, n.d.)

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is at the heart of the new global economy. This refers to global movement of different nationalities and ethnic groups and the consequential ethnic diversity of societies and organizations. Central factors in multiculturalism are the inequality of opportunities, different forms of mobility and diversifying organizations.

Because of globalization, the global movement has increased. According to a report by the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations and the United Nations Global Compact Office (2009) businesses have an important stake and role in fostering cross-cultural relations. Due to the globalization of finance, technology and information, countries - as well as individuals - are unprecedentedly interwoven. Therefore, promoting intercultural dialogue, sustainability and understanding has become essential for global organizations.

Ecologization

The fourth element of the new global economy is ecologization. It refers to understanding the meaning of physical environment and controlling environmental problems. Ecologization is closely related to changes in consumer habits. The focal points in ecologization are proliferation of environmental challenges, finding mutual solutions and corporate social responsibility.

Due to technologization and financialization, many companies have outsourced e.g. manufacturing overseas into developing economies. At the same time, corporate social responsibility has gained a strong footing in global companies' agenda. For businesses this means that their decisions are evaluated based on the ecological, economic and social effects in the long run. (Tienari & Meriläinen 2009, pp.38-41)

Mediatization

Mediatization means the growing importance of communication in the global economy. Mediatization captures the broad consequences of media in everyday life and in societal context (political, cultural, economic, social). Central to this phenomenon are the images of reality media produces, the influence of global media conglomerates and the significance of reputation. There are other some other varying definitions of mediatization, such as mediation or medialization, but the idea behind all of these definitions is the same: the role of media in the global economy is ever growing and media blurs the boundaries between private and public. (Herkman 2005, p. 56) Thus mediatization does not only refer to the power of media companies and news agencies but also how companies communicate and how people represent themselves in different medias. (Tienari & Meriläinen 2009, p.32) By looking at mediatization from a historical perspective, we can set the contemporary society in contrast and understand the role of media in the transforming process. Modernity is succeeded by mediatization, but mediatization also involves processes of social changes. As Schulz claims, the *“concept of mediatization has heuristic value if it precisely defines the role of mass media in transforming society and if it stimulates an adequate analysis of the transformation process.”* (Schulz 2004, 98). Hepp et al. (2010) add that both mediatization and globalization are in many contexts mutually constitutive in terms of how and in what ways they enable societal change.

In mediatized society media is pressured by competition and hence acts according to the laws of market forces. Media is a part of leisure industry and is pressured to producing more entertainment. (Fairclough 1997, p. 21) Mediatization refers to a situation where our knowledge, understanding, experiences and norms are based on what media feeds us.

Media is an all-powerful entity. In 1995 philosopher Jean Baudrillard claimed that the Gulf War did not actually happen. Baudrillard argued the Gulf War was not really a war, but rather a wartime horror, which was scripted by media and portrayed as a war. According to Baudrillard, The American military for the most part did not directly engage in combat with the Iraqi army, and suffered few casualties. The media did not react to Iraqi deaths. Thus, Baudrillard argues that the fighting "did not really take place", at least in the west. Media broadcasted propaganda imagery that affected how spectators saw the war. Because of the stylized, selective misrepresentation through representation in the media. (Nieminen & Pantti 2009, p.6) Lehtonen (2002, p.60) argues that the power of media is based on many factors:

- Media thematizes: media has the power to select themes and support them
- Media sets agendas: media has the power to select and enforce different debates of societal groups
- Media acts as the gatekeeper: media selects themes and then decides of their societal meanings
- Media echoes and enforces the hierarchy of its own reference group and target audience and supports its identity and communality
- Media echoes the political and commercial demands of its interest group

According to Krotz (2008, p. 24) mediatization is one of the meta-processes that shape modernity, along with individualization, commercialization and globalization. '*The specific relevance of mediatization lies in the fact that it is a meta-process that changes communication and so the core of human action*', states Krotz. Stig Hjarvard (2008) also takes an institutional perspective for mediatization by analyzing the interplay between media and other social spheres or institutions. Hjarvard defines the mediatization of society as

"... the process whereby society to an increasing degree is submitted to, or becomes dependent on, the media and their logic. This process is characterized by a duality in that the media have become integrated into the operations of other social institutions, while they also have acquired the status of social institutions in their own right. As a

consequence, social interaction – within the respective institutions, between institutions, and in society at large – takes place via the media.” (Hjarvard 2008b, 113)

Hjarvard claims that duality in fact characterizes mediatization. Mediatization intervenes in human interaction in many different contexts but then again it also institutionalizes media as an autonomous entity with its own logic. (2008b, 116)

Fairclough (1997, p. 20) presents that there are two major tensions in media. These tensions occur between information and entertainment and between public and private. These tensions are indicative of two tendencies; to shift towards entertainment and commercialization. Audiences are treated as consumers and producers have the pressure to produce entertaining content. Fairclough sees this as a part of consumerism and commercialization. (Fairclough 1997, p.23) As media owners are facing pressure and intense competition, media owners are drawn to operate on a market basis and in the direction of entertainment. Fairclough also points out conversationalism that has emerged simultaneously. Conversationalism favors consumers over producers and emphasizes social relations in favor of ordinary people, practices, culture and values.

Mediatization not only affects private lives, but also business, politics, art and science. For instance, politics is done on the terms of media publicity and politics is becoming even more and more personified. Media also affects our identities and experiences. Through media we see good – and bad – models that build our identities and shape values. It might broaden our views and enhance liberality but also convey negative stereotypical and unethical values. Fairclough states that the social impact of media is not only about how they represent the world but also about what kinds of social identities, what versions of ‘self’ they reflect and what cultural values are embedded to the texts (Fairclough 1992, p. 16) Media also builds and enhances group identities – whereas Yleisradio builds Finnish identity, Lapin kansa (newspaper published in the north of Finland) affects local identity. Nowadays identities are built within medias, not only by selecting the types of medias.

Among all this talk of crisis and change it is important to remember that journalism as a practice has not evolved that much during its history. Its ‘raw material’, the news, is a renewable resource. A more important question is how this raw material is developed and who pays for this work. In the mediatized world traditional journalistic institutions and journalists as its representatives have lost their monopoly. (Väliverronen 2009, p. 31)

2.3 Mediatization in global economy

In this chapter I will give an overview of fundamental developments within the media industry. I will describe the current state and present integral change drivers in the industry. I will conclude this chapter with a particular focus in journalism and how journalistic work has changed in the recent decades.

2.3.1 Defining media evolution

This past decade has been one of unmatched media change. Large media owners have come under consolidated ownership but are facing fierce competition by upstarts whilst their content and distribution is challenged by user-generated content. Consumers actively engage in content production and consume media more than ever before. The number of people online has ballooned and now with mobile devices everywhere, we are reached no matter the time or place. (Olkinuora 2012, p.17)

The age of new media is characterized by complexity, uncertainty and opportunity. (McPhillips and Merlo 2008, p.251) The industry has faced challenges in many fronts and still many organizations within the field struggle to find new profitable revenue streams. However, media has the power to change and affect consumers’ knowledge, norms, social relation and social identities. (Fairclough 1997, p. 10) In addition, media can generate meanings by choosing how they present issues. Media tells us some things, but also leaves out a lot. The representations done by media foreground the primary issues and omit the secondary. Thus, media represents the world, builds identities and forms relations. (Fairclough 1997, 13-14)

The 21st century has been rough for the media in general but especially for the printed media. The chances for growth are limited while the investors are losing their faith in media companies as profitable investments. In the U.S., many publishing houses are in a crisis because of decreases in circulation. Even the established and renowned newspapers have had to rearrange ownership and lay off people. Many of the newspapers ran into serious debt before the recession in 2008. (Väliaverronen 2004, p.16) Picard (2011) notes that the publishers themselves have lost faith in the industry, which indicates the sales of significant publishers, such as Knight-Ridder and Tribune. Picard states that this lack of faith arises from newspapers' weak interest to develop journalism and their business models.

The main function of journalism is to convey relevant and interesting information that is also reliable and independent. In order to cherish this task, journalism has perceived itself as a mirror that reflects the changes in the world and in our society. This belief of journalism as an independent and reliable 'gatekeeper' establishes its credibility. (Väliaverronen 2004, p.17) However, this credibility has begun to fray on the edges because of the scandals where journalists publish make-believe stories or manipulated images. In 2004 the *New York Times* published an article where it explained that it had published false stories of the mass destruction weapons in Iraq and the relations between Iraq and Al-Qaida. In Finland the most notable case was the one of *Enkeli-Elisa* which told the story of a 15-year-old girl who had been bullied and later committed suicide. The media started to write about the case after it became hugely popular on social media. However, the story was fictional. According to a study conducted by TNS Gallup in 2013, media was the second most common object of trust in Finland, after the President, with 54%. ("Kansalaisten luottamus", 2014) Even though media credibility falls and media critique increases, Väliaverronen claims that it is a sign of a realistic and healthy attitude towards media. (Väliaverronen 2004, p. 21)

In the postmodern society media produces meanings and notions. The way media reflects structural, economic and social changes, how it regards the societal initiatives and tells about them describes the relation to these changes well. These initiatives are public

addresses with a goal to renew some societal structures or to take a stand on some societal paradigms. The faith of these addresses is determined in socio-political debate. The debate that is mainly done in media, has a crucial effect on what kind of decisions or measures are taken as a consequence of these addresses. Therefore, how media regards these initiatives carries much significance. (Wiio 2006, p.18)

The cultural and societal meaning of media has risen drastically in the past decades. Digital media has created a new, global space where sharing thoughts, beliefs and images is swift and easy. The media today cannot be controlled by people in the same way as in the 20th century when media meant newspapers, radio and films. (Nieminen & Pantti 2009, p. 12) The presence of media is constant and it is an overpowering phenomenon in western cultures. However, we are used to its presence insomuch that it attracts our attention when it gives us impulses; disturbs or bores us. (Nieminen & Pantti 2009, p. 14) Castells describes that media is a presupposition for globalization (Castells 1996; Castells and Cardoso 2006), and globalization is the reason why people use more and more media. Mediatization does not characterize all societies but is rather a development that has accelerated in the last years or the twentieth century in modern, industrialized and mainly Western societies. However, mediatization is heavily intertwined with globalization, which is why it spreads to other societies as well. (Krotz 2008, p. 161)

2.3.2 Dynamics behind the media evolution

The structures of the global economy are changing faster than ever before. The current evolution can be seen as the third industrial revolution. (Hämäläinen & Heiskala 2004 in Wiio 2006, p.13) Media is strongly involved with the structural, economic or social changes in the society. Nonetheless, the societal changes require media to evolve simultaneously. Media is a knowledge-intensive industry in which the advancements in technology and digitalization support change. (Wiio 2006, p. 13)

The new media evolution is created by media convergence (McPhillips and Merlo 2008, p. 237). The media convergence, defined as the '*ability to deliver different media channels via one digital platform*' continues to break old practices and generate intricacies.

Technology changes the relationship between the media and their audiences, contents and sources of profitability. However, technologization alone does not suffice for explaining the changes in the media industry. Also societal changes have influenced these changes. (Olkinuora et al. 2012, p.18) Therefore, the changes in media reflect the scattering of society. Fragmentation has separated old mass audiences and numerous smaller media have challenged old channels that have controlled the industry. The view of pleasing mass audiences is now outdated whilst the interest of narrower audiences controls thinking. There appears to be a trend away from a 'public logic' towards 'market logic', and from 'mass media' to 'cash media', mainly in the form of gatekeepers asking for money for access to particular types of content. Entertaining content gets clicks and views, although at the expense of quality journalism. Previously media owners were able to control content in terms of what and when but now the power has shifted to consumers – they are now in control of what content they want and when. (Olkinuora et al. 2012, pp. 18-20) In the following section, I will describe in more detail the trends that have affected the media industry drastically: marketization of media, digitalization, creation of new media channels and consumer trends.

Marketization of media

Fairclough states that one of the major trends in media is commercialization. The line between entertainment and documentaries is blurred because of the pressure by competitors and markets. (Fairclough 1997, p. 21) As the juxtaposition between consumers' and advertisers' interests continues to exist, the dynamics of the media landscape are still prone to changes. (McPhillips and Merlo 2008, p. 251)

Herkman claims that the moral mission of journalism, to work as a means of communication for citizens, has been replaced by more economic and profitable thinking, which evidently affects the forms and quality of journalism. Herkman refers to A.-P. Pietilä, the former editor-in-chief of Ilta-Sanomat, who has argued that journalism is no longer defined by ideological or socio-political goals but is drawn by demand and adaptation to markets, which means that the goal is in amusing big crowds. The success of the industry is tied to quarterly share prices. (Herkman in Väliaverronen 2009, p. 32)

In Finland the marketization of media emerged in the mid-1980s when commercial local radio channels begun to broadcast. Also television offerings extended with both cable and satellite channels. The monopoly of Yle, The Finnish Broadcasting Company, started to stagger. The changes in the 1990s freed the industry from Yle's monopoly. The changes also affected the media ownerships and many were rearranged. In 1997-1998 two competing consolidated corporations, Alma Media and Sanoma WSOY, were established. Since then Finnish media corporations have become international. (Wiio 2006)

Herkman argues that one of the good sides of marketization is that media is no longer kept in the short leash by politics. Since the more liberalistic view of journalism has gained ground, media can be more trusted as the Fourth Estate. However, it does not mean that there would not exist any ideologies among the private owners. Finnish media has also taken a stand in some recent political issues; for example, during the debate about NATO some mediums have conveyed support or opposition to the issue. (Herkman in Väliverronen 2009, p. 32)

Digitalization

The triumphal march of new digital media began in 1993. Then Marc Andreessen, a recent graduate from the University of Illinois, finished the world's first browser called Mosaic. In 1993 0,3% of the world's population was connected to the Internet. By the year 2014, half of the world's population were using the Internet while the bravest predictions say that the entire world will be connected by the year 2020. The digital development quietened down in the beginning of 21st century when the tech bubble burst in the United States but accelerated again in 2007 when Apple introduced iPhones. Since then the development of data transmission networks and technological developments have further increased the evolution.

Competition within the media industry has also increased since the emergence of new media. Internet is a quick, cheap and widespread platform for publishing. In addition,

citizen journalism produces news, conversations and commentaries without input from professional journalists. The former high-level consumers are now active content providers. The idea that journalism is worth paying for, has weathered. In 2008, when Risto Uimonen left his position as the editor-in-chief of newspaper *Kaleva*, he wrote in his farewell column that the golden age of quality journalism might be over:

“Media is facing the most difficult times. Quality journalism costs but can companies invest in quality if payers follow free content while advertising revenues drop. The time of quality journalism, which is bloomed for three decades in Finland, might be over.”
(Uimonen 2008)

Internet has challenged newspapers and other traditional news media in many ways; economically, contentwise and in regards to the relationship with the audience. The free content available on the Internet threatens to break the traditional financing of publishing houses. While free content challenges the traditional revenue logic, the internet also enhances communication and supports the emergence of citizen journalism. (Väliaverronen 2009) Internet has transformed journalism into online news production and increased the competition between medias. This presents a dilemma: if people do not want to pay for media content, can quality content and journalism be produced other than as a public service? (Väliaverronen 2004, pp.23, 29) To overcome the financial challenges, many publishing houses have set up payment barriers for the online content. Public service broadcasters, like BBC and Yle in Finland, cause strain for the commercial media companies. In 2009 Yle argued with STT (Finnish News Agency) and other commercial media houses about free distribution of news. According to others, Yle’s free content strains the markets whereas Yle claimed that free content will become more common in any case. (Väliaverronen 2009, p. 22)

Media owners have seized synergy benefits in production and marketing due to digitalization. For example, the news production of Alma Media has been centralized to one unit that produces material for all the mediums of communication. Similarly, Nelonen and Ilta-Sanomat produce sport news together and Nelonen and Taloussanomat combined forces to produce economic news. (Herkman in Väliaverronen 2009, pp.35-36) While

digitalization has been beneficial for media corporations and has allowed the development of production, marketing and distribution, it has also been one of the biggest challenges for journalism. One of the biggest factors is the Internet that has quickly gained a standing as one of the most popular mediums. Indeed, the development has provided the modern citizen with a whole new pallet of global media content, with a richness and diversity unknown to previous generations of media consumers. Television is facing great challenges too because the digital reshaping has caused major investments and redistribution of the market without any guarantee of continuity in the traditional activity. (Herkman in Väliverronen 2009, p. 36) Thanks to smartphones and tablets, the world is just a click away – and small enough to be carried around in one's back pocket.

Digitalization also affects the nature of journalistic work. Media owners' demands for return, competitions for readers' time and new digital publishing channels have eroded the profitability of traditional journalism. As content is available free on the Internet, media behavior changes and circulation of newspapers decreases. Established publisher-customer relationships do not exist anymore because the competition is nowadays for the reader. Internet and user-generated content are redefining journalism and who is a journalist. (Helle in Väliverronen 2009, p.91)

Creation of new media channels

The fragmentation of viewing habits forces the media owners to rethink their business models and revenue logic. Content is becoming more and more entertaining and mass-produced which is eating away the quality of the content. (Olkinuora et al. 2012)

Consumers are persuaded with more entertainment and it changes the nature of media content. Media industry was not previously as conflicted as now. Newspapers, radio and television had their own distribution channels and business models. The media evolution has blurred these borders and the competition has become aggravated. Competition, overflow of supply and differentiation have made journalism aggressive. (Olkinuora et al. 2012) Digitalization allows distributing the same content through different channels and

devices. Mobile technologies also enable receiving this content regardless of the location. The traditional media is challenged by this development that liberates usage of media from time, space and situation. Media usage is controlled by the prevailing need. The reason for using media can stem from many needs: it can be about maintaining social relations, acquiring information, building identity or just finding entertainment. The use of media is also bound on age, generation and the phase of life. (Wiio 2006, p.41) Although media usage has changed significantly, Wiio argues that there is no indication that the time of traditional newspapers would be over. (2006, p.41) The traditional press is losing its power, but nonetheless, newspapers are strongly bound to certain routines and operating situations. Media owners need to add new media alongside old media and recognize the different consumer patterns and types of engagement. (McPhillips & Merlo 2008, p.251)

Consumer trends

In addition to the creation of new medias, also the changing behavior of consumers challenge media and journalism. Readers and viewers are impatient, testy, less able to concentrate and crave for entertainment and sensations. (Koroma in Kinnunen & Väisänen 2009) Being exposed to multiple different media simultaneously has changed consumers' media behavior. (Della et al. 2008) Media is not a one-way channel anymore, but an interactive, co-creative medium of exchange. Consumers are empowered to choose their preferred channels and content which has significant consequences. (Stöber 2004, p.245) Media convergence has affected the emergence of this new style of accessing and consuming content. (McPhillips & Merlo 2008, p. 251) Media owners are not in control of when, where and which content is consumed which indicates fundamental changes in the industry. Stöber (2004, p.245) defines these changes as democratization of content, creation of user-generated content, personalization of schedules, social networking and divergence of consumer groups. In addition, the emergence of citizen journalism challenges journalists; the former consumers have become the content producers. (Välvirronen 2009, p. 14)

2.3.3 Journalism in crisis

From the beginning of the 21st century, the changes in journalism have accelerated. The crisis hit the credibility of journalism, finances of the press and quality. Most of the crisis talk can be attributed to the internet. Who is willing to pay for content anymore when the Internet is full of free content to read and download? (Välvirronen 2009, p.7) Free content online is challenging the fundamentals of journalism. In addition to changes caused by technologization, journalism has become more commercialized and content is becoming more focused on entertainment. The strained media competition, fragmented audiences and digitalization change journalists' work in particular. While newspapers' revenue and circulation grow weaker, journalists are faced with critique about the quality of journalism. Välvirronen (2009, p. 10) claims that this raises a question; is journalism losing its place as a one central institution within society?

Koljonen (2013, pp. 43-44) divides the crisis of journalism and the discussion around it into six discourses. The division is based on research that analyzed material from the early 1990s to 2010. The identified six discourses are intertwined; according to Koljonen the discourses form a circle in which every crisis (discourse) is explained with one another. The crisis discourses are:

1. Commercialization
2. Increasing need for entertainment
3. Fragmentation
4. Centralization of ownership and harmonization of journalism
5. Erosion of public trust
6. Industrialization of work

All the discourses identified by Koljonen are also problematic for the journalistic professional identity. Koljonen states that for example commercialization has superseded the societal role of journalism. (2013a, pp.45-47) The abovementioned discourses however

are a part of a bigger upheaval. Journalism is closely connected with society. The roots of its problems are deep in the fundamental, societal changes. (Picard 2010, p.23)

In Finland, a recent study indicates that journalists feel that they have to carry out their tasks quickly and that they no longer have time to focus on the journalistic work. The accelerated pace and schedule pressures are creating most challenges in journalistic work. In the study, journalists were asked about the future trends and how these will affect journalistic work, and more than half of the respondents estimated that journalists' independence and autonomy (61%), analytical and critical ability (60%), adherence to the professional ethics of journalism (57%) and the difference between journalistic and other content production (51%) will decrease. (Jyrkiäinen and Heinonen, 2012) All the different issues related to the journalistic profession and how they affect journalistic work are presented in Table 1. The same study revealed that Finnish journalists are insecure and pessimistic about the future as they feel that quality journalism and ethics are threatened. Overall, journalists' views and forecast for future are gloomy.

	<i>Clear decrease</i>	<i>Slight decrease</i>	<i>Difficult to say</i>	<i>Slight increase</i>	<i>Clear increase</i>
Analytical and critical journalism	18	42	22	17	2
Journalists' independence and autonomy	15	49	26	10	1
Following rules of professional ethics	14	43	36	7	0
Diff. between journalistic & other content production	14	37	30	14	5
Appreciation of journalistic work	9	39	32	18	3
Social significance of own work	4	20	49	25	3
Significance of journalists in society	3	28	29	34	6
Economic accountability in own work	1	2	36	50	12
Experientialism & entertaining in journalism	1	3	6	50	41
Management of editorial organization as business	0	1	19	47	33

Table 1: Estimates of future trends in journalistic work (in %, N=614) (Source: Jyrkiäinen and Heinonen, 2012)

2.4 Summary of literature review

In this chapter I will conclude the literature review of this study in the light of above-cited literature. The development of media industries globally has longstanding roots as media has undergone fundamental changes throughout the 20th century. We are now in the midst of a corresponding revolution which was born from the shift from analogue to digital media.

Globalization is a multifaceted phenomenon that can be studied from many different perspectives and disciplines of research. Although there are many views on how to define globalization, it has become a framework for piecing together changes and change drivers globally. Globalization is such a popular topic in academia as well as in media that it reflects its importance and relevance in society today. Globalization and media are connected. Real-time, border-crossing flow of information and international new division of labor create a new environment for media as well. Because of the consolidation of ownership, media has to adapt to changes in the global economy. Globalization creates new markets for content creation as well.

Tienari and Meriläinen (2009) describe the new global economy, originated in globalization, with five intertwined elements: technologization, financialization, multiculturalism, ecologization and mediatization. Out of these five elements especially technologization and mediatization are essential to this research as my aim is to study the media evolution. Both of these changes have paved the way to the mediatized world in which we live now. There are other ways of describing mediatization, such as mediation or medialization, but the idea behind all of these definitions is the same: the role of media and communication in the global economy is ever growing and media blurs the boundaries between private and public. (Herkman 2005, p. 56) Digitalization and media convergence have transformed the media industry considerably. The changes inevitably affect also journalistic work and its practices. Journalists' work is challenged with strained media competition, fragmented audiences, constant technological developments and digitalization. In Finland, a recent study indicates that Finnish journalists feel that quality

journalism and ethics are challenged by the developments in the industry and overall the prospects for the media industry are poor. (Jyrkiäinen & Heinonen, 2012)

Studying media and media evolution is particularly interesting because media has the ability to affect our identities comprehensively, as stated by Fairclough. (1997, p. 10) Media reflects the basic values of our society and can take either a progressive, forward-looking or conservative role against changes. (Wiio 2006, p. 13) Wiio states that the way media reflects central changes also describes the relation to these changes as well. This study builds up from the above-cited literature focusing on media evolution. The focus of this master's thesis is particularly in the changes within journalistic work caused by the above-mentioned trends and what kind of understandings and meanings of media evolution are produced in the discourses by journalists. By conducting a study focusing on discourses on media evolution it is possible to gain more in-depth understanding on the meanings and representations and examine the role that discourses have in constituting the world journalists live in.

3. Doing research

In this chapter I will present the theoretical and methodological approach that I used in conducting this study, critical discourse analysis. I will begin with explaining the nature of qualitative research, and then move on to describe the foundations of discourse analysis and finally explain what is critical discourse analysis and why it is particularly suitable for studying media texts. In addition, I will describe in detail how I approached the research material and how I began the analysis phase with detailed descriptions on the analysis process. Finally, I will evaluate the credibility of this study and present possible limitations.

3.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative research is contextual and unique by nature. An essential part of qualitative research is interpreting the research material, and collecting the data, conducting analysis and reporting are closely connected to each other. Specific to qualitative research is that the research plan evolves during the process. (Eskola & Suoranta 2005, p.15) Rather than progressing in a straightforward manner, qualitative research comes back to different parts of the research during the process. Interpreting the data is an essential part during the entire research process. (Eskola & Suoranta 2005, p. 16) This is why I will also describe the choices and interpretations I made in detail later in chapter 5.

Discourse analysis is one of the ways to conduct qualitative research. After getting acquainted with this type of study I knew that this type of study would suit me well. Since I am a large-scale consumer of media texts I liked the idea of conducting a study in which I would interpret the meaning of these texts and try to find the meanings between the 'lines'. These meanings of social reality can only be understood in a specific context and cultural environment. In addition, the fact that the data was easily accessible and collected affected my choice of analysis method. Discourse analysis utilizes existing data in order to eliminate the researcher's influence. (Eskola & Suoranta 2005, p. 197) Eskola and Suoranta recommend focusing efforts on the analysis itself and not on arranging interviews or collecting data, which can be time-consuming. (Eskola & Suoranta 2005, p. 117)

In addition, regarding the aim of this study, I believe that qualitative approach is the most suitable choice for the research strategy. The research questions aim to uncover the underlying discourses and interpretations of media evolution and thus understand the change from the perspective of journalists. The qualitative approach allows me to tap into the discourses. As pointed out by Silverman (2000), a strong feature of qualitative research is its relation to authentic human experiences. Since my object is not to acquire any numerical data, quantitative approach is not suitable for the purposes of this study (Ronkainen, Pehkonen, Lindblom-Ylänne & Paavilainen, 2011). As stated by Ronkainen et al., qualitative research aims to find out meanings.

In this chapter I will present discourse analysis, and critical discourse analysis in particular, as the theoretical and methodological framework of this research. Discourse analysis is based in social constructionism which in turn stems from the premise that language has meanings and constructs reality. I will dive into discourse analysis and its characteristics and describe my own research process and analysis process in detail.

3.2 Discourse analysis

The premise of the theoretical-methodological framework of this research is social constructionism, which emphasizes interpreting reality. In social constructionism, society is viewed as existing both as a subjective and an objective reality. Meaning is shared, thereby constituting a taken-for-granted reality. Berger and Luckmann (1966) emphasize that reality is socially constructed by knowledge. Social reality is not a social fact but rather something produced and communicated and its meaning is derived in these systems of communication. Burr (2003, pp.3-5) has identified four premises of social constructionism which help in understanding the philosophies underpinning discursive work:

- a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge
- historical and cultural specificity
- knowledge as sustained by social process
- knowledge and social action going together

Discourse analysis stems from social constructionism. However, social constructionism is a theoretical-methodological framework whereas discourse analysis is a methodical approach. The principles are nonetheless the same; both share the same interest for finding out how language and other actions construct social reality. In addition, the analysis is based on the data which means that the data is not organized by outside theories but as a result of the analysis. (Jokinen 2006, p.38-39) Jokinen and Juhila (1999, p.54) describe discourse analytic research as a triangle with “meanings”, “communicativeness” and “culture” as the apices.

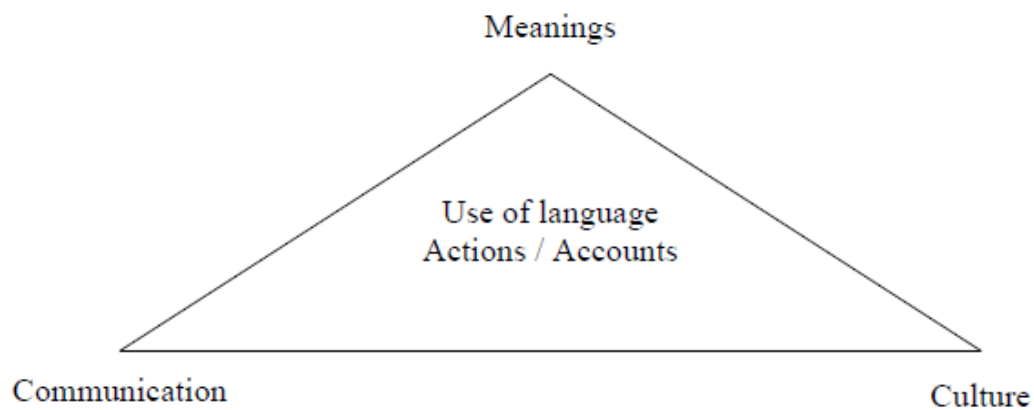


Figure 2: The framework of discourse analysis (Jokinen & Juhila 1999)

The apices of this triangle are interrelated since discourse analysis research is based on the whole triangle. Hence, discourse analysis does not only focus on meanings, but on cultural meanings that are the collective social constructions of reality. The cultural meanings are present in the communication and interaction between people.

Fairclough states that textual analysis can help understand how social contradictions evolve and how intricately it develops and lives out. (Fairclough 1992) Discourse analysis not only focuses on texts and practices, but also on discourse practices and sociocultural practices. Fairclough defines discourse practices as *“the ways in which texts are produced by media workers in media institutions”*, *“the ways in which texts are received by*

audiences” and “*how media texts are socially distributed.*” Discourse analysis seeks to trace the systematic links between texts, discourse practices and sociocultural practices. (Fairclough 1992)

Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen (1993) present five premises that construct discourse analysis:

- 1) Language builds social reality
- 2) Multiple parallel and competing meanings exist
- 3) Linkages between context and meaningful action exist
- 4) Actors are attached to meanings
- 5) Characteristic of language is that it produces meanings

Language not only describes the world, but also produces meanings, organizes and builds, renews, and transforms the social reality in which we are living in (Jokinen et al. 1993, p.18). According to Eskola & Suoranta, the basic idea of discourse analysis is that language is not a neutral reflector of the social reality. Discourse analytical point of view sees language as a product of social reality, while it produces this reality at the same time. Language is used, in different ways, to reach particular goals. Texts describe events and simultaneously build social life. Hence, texts do not only describe a certain subject, but rather actively form a certain version of things. Eskola & Suoranta (2005) state that *"people use language to do things in which case language has certain functions, and to build versions of social reality."*

There is a great variety of ways to conduct discourse analysis studies. To explore the triangle above, Jokinen & Juhila (1999, pp.54-66) organize the field of discourse analysis with four different methodological dimensions. The dimensions specify and add detail to the apices of the triangle. The dimensions are summarized in Figure 3. For this study, I chose critical discourse analysis, from which I will tell more in the following section.

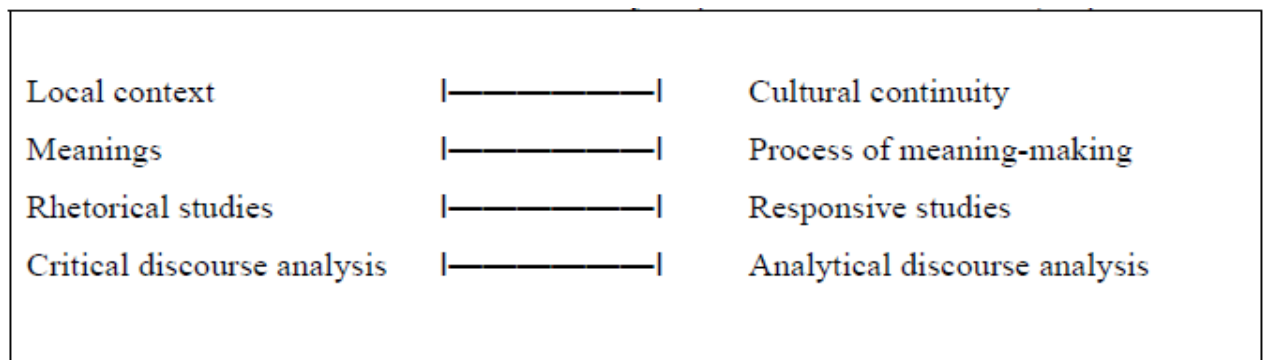


Figure 3: The dimensions of discourse analysis (Jokinen & Juhila 1999,55)

3.2.1 Critical discourse analysis as a methodological framework

Critical discourse analysis (CDA from here after) differs from traditional discourse analysis in the sense that it implies adopting a critical perspective. (Vaara & Tienari 2004) The starting point of critical discourse analysis is the assumption that there exist some relationships of domination and the aim of the analysis is to examine the practices that maintain and justify these relations. CDA focuses on opening up new points for discussion, rather than closing them with all-embracing explanations of reality. (Jokinen & Juhila 1999, p. 85) CDA is seen as a branch of critical scholarship (Leitch & Palmer 2010), and as a methodology it allows us to examine the role discourses have in creating our society. Due to this constructive nature discourses, in fact, (re-)produce knowledge, culture, identities, subjectivities, and power relationships in social and societal settings. (Vaara & Tienari 2004, p. 344)

CDA is a part of critical scholarship and focuses on social problems and power relations and dynamics relates to these problems. Wodak sees texts having '*sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance*'. (2001a, p.11) Fairclough explains that the value in textual analysis is in the 'causal effects' that texts may have, albeit effects mediated by meaning-making on the part of those who interpret them. (2003, p.8) Leitch and Palmer (2010, p.1196) summarize by concluding that the choice of texts is therefore a critical component of any CDA method since it '*provides the underlying justification for the validity and significance of the insights offered by the analysis*'.

Critical discourse analysis examines how social power, its misuse, domination and inequality are created, maintained and resisted in language in social context. CDA helps in understanding how discursive actions build power and institutions through taken-for-granted understandings and meanings that in turn favor some actors and supersede others. CDA systematically studies the (hidden) determinist and causal relations that prevail between discourses and extensive social and cultural practices, relations and processes. Simultaneously, it aims to highlight the invisible relation between discourses and power and present how it creates power and hegemony. (Fairclough 1993, p. 135; van Dijk 2001, pp.352–353; Phillips & Hardy 2002, p.27) Drawing upon the characteristics of CDA by Vaara & Tienari, CDA aims at uncovering the taken-for-granted presumptions and power relations that prevail in societal, political and economic spheres. CDA is hence a critical analysis approach that focuses on how knowledge, subjects and power relations are produced, reproduced and transformed within discourse and is done with variety of methods for analyzing texts in context. (Leitch & Palmer 2010, p.1195)

Another characteristic of CDA is that the researcher's position is not a 'neutral observer'. (Vaara & Tienari 2004, p.344) This means that the researcher needs to adopt a critical perspective and acknowledge what kinds of presuppositions this means for the position. Also Leitch & Palmer emphasize the importance of reflexivity. The researcher needs to acknowledge the active role of the researcher in the process and understand what power relations exist between the researcher and the researched. (2010, p. 1209) As Vaara & Tienari point out, this implies that the definition of research questions is vital in the research process. The researcher needs to understand what kind of perspective is already embedded in the questions themselves and what this perspective implies for the discourses found in the material. (2004, p.346) CDA requires that the researcher has the ability to make sense of linkages that are found between textual characteristics and discourses and between discourses and socio-cultural practices and historical developments. Uncovering these relationships demands for in-depth scrutiny and reflection on specific texts. (Vaara & Tienari 2004, p.345)

At the heart of CDA is language and what sets CDA apart from other disciplines is context. CDA researchers analyze language in a specific context, instead of seeing it as an isolated object. Vaara and Tienari point out that the research should not only take into consideration the social, cultural and institutional settings but also the historical dimension. (Vaara & Tienari 2004, p. 344) Context, defined by Chouliaraki & Fairclough (2010), is seen as “*an analytical construct that emerges within specific research questions.*” Consequently, in-depth qualitative research methods are best suitable for CDA, although quantitative methods can be used in a supportive role. This also implies that the framing of the research and thus the researcher himself/herself have a crucial role in defining the outcomes of the research. (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 2010; Fairclough 2005)

The article by Leitch & Palmer (2010), and its counterpoint by Chouliaraki & Fairclough (2010) argue on behalf of and against strict methodological protocol which Leitch & Palmer see developing and legitimating CDA. Leitch & Palmer argue that there is no core agreement about what is meant by context and how the linkages between it and texts should be made. (2010, p.1194) However, Chouliaraki and Fairclough see context in discourse analysis as deliberately contingent and in broad terms, as articulations of language and it emerges from specific research questions. Context seeks to define ‘the specific articulation of moments that is relevant to the constitution of specific bodies of organizational texts.’ (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 2010, pp. 1215;1218) Leitch & Palmer (2010) and Chouliaraki & Fairclough (2010) both acknowledge that context problematizes taken-for-granted conceptual territories in CDA and reproduces power relations.

Since CDA studies analyze multiple texts rather than single texts, intertextuality is also an important characteristic of CDA. Intertextual relations between the chosen texts constitute social phenomena through structured discourses. (Phillips and Hardy 2002, p.82)

Intertextuality refers to the links texts have with each other and may have with future texts. It also refers to how analysts link texts with knowledge of other texts. Hence, intertextual analysis takes into account the historicity and genre of texts. (Leitch & Palmer 2010, p.1198) Chouliaraki and Fairclough add that CDA views language as a discourse and as an element of social process that is dialectically related to others. The relations are dialectical in terms of ‘being different, but not “discrete”, i.e. not fully separate.’ (Chouliaraki and

Fairclough 2010, p.1214) Chouliaraki and Fairclough also remind keeping analytical focus upon both the discourse and the relations between discursive and other elements. In sum, texts or discursive acts cannot be fully understood without linking them with other texts or discursive acts. (Vaara & Tienari 2004, p.345) In CDA research, the researcher should take into account the context by placing specific discursive elements and practices in the text into wider context. (Vaara & Tienari 2004, p.345) Social phenomena can be understood with the help of CDA through the analysis of both individual texts and relationships between other texts.

The main differences between critical and analytical discourse analysis are the fundamental goals and commitments of the study which consequently affect the analysis. This does not necessarily mean that critical and analytical discourse analyses would exclude each other. (Jokinen & Juhila 1999, pp.86-87) Analytical orientation seeks to analyze the social reality and its phenomenon. CDA however aims to produce conversations in relation to the dominant social order and its premise is in subjection. Hence, the research studies the discursive practices that create, maintain and justify these relations. CDA talks about ideology, ideological practices, power, power relations, dominant discourses, hegemonic discourses and suppressed voices. (Jokinen & Juhila 1999, pp.86–87; Vaara, Tienari & Laurila 2006, p.792; van Dijk 2001, p.354)

CDA focuses on elite groups and institutions' relations that are executed, legitimized or otherwise reproduces through text and speech. One of the central aspects of the relation between power and discourse is how different social groups have the possibility to take part in the (public or private) discourse and therefore produce inequalities. The notion of domination is integral since it exercises power, legitimizes power standings (the misuse of these or questionability) and negative consequences. The focus is on social questions that the researcher seeks to understand through discourse analysis. Theories, methods and empirical work is selected based on this relevance and sociopolitical goals. The critical approach supports those who suffer from domination and inequality. (Fairclough 1993, p.137)

CDA studies language both as societal output and influencer. The primary target of analysis is the relation of these two views and the tension in between. Critical discourse analysis describes, explains and criticizes the ways in which dominant discourses (indirectly) affect socially shared understandings, attitudes and ideologies. It is vital how these discourses create concrete ways to interpret and act. (Fairclough 1995, pp.75–76) The analysis focuses on the structures of text and speech, discursive strategies that affect the receivers. Thus, the reproduction of domination has two dimensions: production and reception that are both analyzed. The mental models of receivers can be manipulated in a way that creates desired social understandings and thinking.

3.2.2 Media texts and discourse

Fairclough (1992) presents a three-dimensional framework for critical discourse analysis, as shown in Figure 4. The aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice.

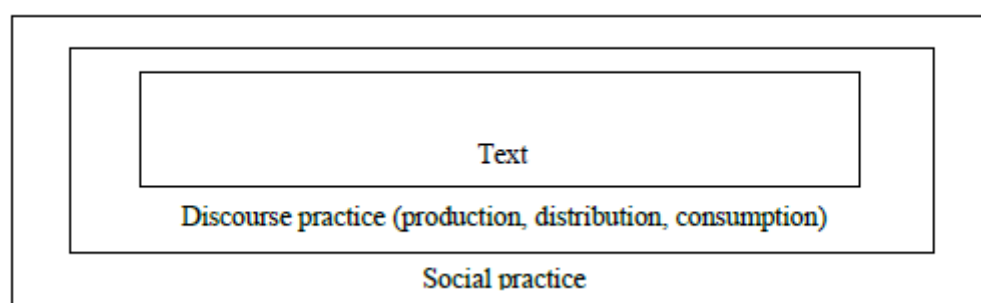


Figure 4: Fairclough's three-dimensional framework of discourse (adapted from Fairclough 1992)

Textual analysis aims at uncovering both what is in the text and what is missing from it. Fairclough states that essential aspects to the analysis of language are representations, identities and relations: how the text simultaneously represents the world, builds identities and forms relations between the 'participants' within the text. (Fairclough 1997, p.14 and pp.79-80, Väliverronen 1998, p.29) Väliverronen claims that media texts are a result of

numerous choices. (1998, p.27) Thus, journalists present the addressed issues from a certain point of view and favoring certain actors. By studying not only single words, notions and grammatical structures but also uses of sources and the characteristics of the text, the researcher can find these point of views and reveal the ideologies and exercise of power.

Fairclough (1997, pp.10-14) claims that the power of media stems from linguistic and discursive choices. Analyzing the language of media texts analysis can help in finding out 1) how the world (events, relationships, etc.) is represented, 2) what identities are set up for those involved in the program or story (reporters, audiences, ‘third parties’ referred to or interviewed), and 3) what relationships are set up between those involved (e.g. reporter-audience, expert-audience or politician-audience relationships). Fiss and Hirsch (2005) claim that journalists are regarded as “*agents between social reality and general public perception*” as they make sense of existing social knowledge and provide meaning to related events by presentation of information. Journalists promote and moderate discourses by either certifying or suppressing particular concepts. (Vaara et al., 2006; Vaara & Monin, 2010) Fairclough (1995, p.2) argues that nowadays the popular media plays a significant role in legitimization because of its “*power to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, and social identities*”.

3.3 Research material

In qualitative research all the research phases – data collection, analysis, interpretation and reporting – are intertwined. The research plan and even the research questions might need to be reassessed as the researcher moves on to the data collection and analysis. In qualitative research the analysis is data-driven, which means building theory from the empirical material, as if bottom-up. Eskola & Suoranta (1998, p. 19) state that therefore it is important to narrow down material so that the analysis is worthwhile and sensible. Eskola & Suoranta define qualitative material, in the most simplified manner, as text. Text can be originated with or without the researcher’s input. The data is collected from various sources e.g. interviews, journals, letters, articles and biographies.

Essential to qualitative research is that the researcher does not possess any hypothesis. This means that the researcher should stay open-minded and does not own any pre-defined presuppositions of the research subject or the results. According to Eskola & Suoranta (1998, p. 20) the possible presuppositions should be taken into account already in the research premise. It also suggested that the researcher should think of hypotheses, guesses of sorts, of the analysis phase and its results. Eskola & Suoranta (1998, p.20) refer to Kaplan's (1964) idea that data is studied to devise hypotheses, not to testify them.

Texts leave traces, which can be analyzed to uncover current phenomena. (Väliverronen 1998, p. 32) In the contemporary society, the institutional establishment is a matter of texts, which intervene between action and discourse. (Munir & Phillips, 2005) Maguire and Hardy (2009, p.150) explain texts as the “*symbolic forms of representation (e.g. documents, books, media accounts, interviews, speeches, committee reports, etc.) that are inscribed by being spoken, written or otherwise depicted.*” Studying media texts in their context requires understanding of the meanings they convey. Väliverronen (1998) claims that context is a vague and multifaceted concept, which can be understood in many ways. According to Väliverronen (1998, p.33-34), it is possible to see context as a ‘joint text’. Thus, context is not merely outside the studied texts, but equally within them. Regardless, the researcher's role is emphasized in studying texts. Therefore, there are no correct interpretations for texts, only more or less reasonably argued. (Väliverronen 1998, p. 36) Fairclough (1997) divides studying texts and discourse into three perspectives: studying representations, identities and relations. The first perspective is about how media represents global events and societal phenomena. The second studies what kind of identities media texts build. The third perspective peruses what kind of relations are made up between all the parties involved, e.g. the writer, the reader, the interviewee.

In this research I have analyzed articles and editorials collected from the archives of Helsingin Sanomat. Editorials are written commentaries that describe the contemporary phenomena. (Vaara & Tienari, 2004, p.351) Vaara and Tienari add that these types of texts can be seen as ‘*particular influential discursive acts in the public discussion around specific phenomena such as international consolidation*’. Therefore, studying discourses of media evolution is particularly interesting from journalists' point of view. Although any

kind of textual material is suitable for CDA, Vaara and Tienari argue that media texts have some benefits over others. Media texts are available for the researcher in electronic form on the internet, which makes the data collection process easier. Thus, media texts are easily accessible and public material, which resolves the question of confidentiality. (Vaara & Tienari 2004, p.345)

I selected a set of keywords that I used to find articles about the media evolution and its effects on the journalistic work (see appendix I: a list of selected keywords). The time frame was 10 years, beginning from June of 2005 and ending on June 2015. I chose this time frame because I wanted to uncover the how the talk about media evolution has evolved during the past decade and how this would possibly affect the discourses found in the analysis.

I selected the articles and editorials from Helsingin Sanomat only, although there would have been plenty of material in other newspapers and industry magazines. Helsingin Sanomat archives offered me enough material to work with. Helsingin Sanomat is also a national newspaper with extensive circulation and therefore it has power and authority in current societal issues. Helsingin Sanomat is a respected and influential newspaper with over a million weekly readers (Levikki ja lukijamäärä, n.d.). As the reputation of the newspaper is well established, editorials and articles published in Helsingin Sanomat have significance in the formation of public opinion. According to Wiio (2006, p.22) Helsingin Sanomat is a significant national agenda-setter. Helsingin Sanomat belongs to the biggest media corporation in Finland, The Sanoma Group. The unique position of Helsingin Sanomat within the Finnish media landscape makes it a societal influencer. In addition, the premises of Helsingin Sanomat link it with the societal extent:

“Helsingin Sanomat is an uncommitted newspaper that seeks to promote and enhance democracy, societal justice and the freedom of opinion. This mission is carried through with neutral, fast and reliable news transmission... According to Helsingin Sanomat common conception, a society can develop in harmony only when the continuation of overarching, versatile communication is guaranteed.” (Helsingin Sanomien periaatelinja, 2013)

Altogether, I collected 54 articles in total that include one or more of the keywords. Some of the articles revolve around media only, but some also talk about the changes in the economy in general and thus have some references to media evolution. The list of keywords and selected articles is included in the appendices.

3.4 Conducting analysis

The data of qualitative research is typically limited; the focus of research is on the thorough analysis of the material, rather than the quantity of it. (Eskola & Suoranta 2008, p. 18) I will conduct a data-based analysis which means advancing from bottom to top – the theory stems from the analysis and not the other way round. This is also typical for discourse analysis. (Eskola & Suoranta 2005, p. 19) I will keep an open mind towards my research without any assumptions on what kind of results I will find. Thus, I am more open to the data and the results that derive from it. The researcher advances without hypotheses hence having no assumptions of the results. (Eskola & Suoranta 2005, p.19) However, the researcher's own history, knowledge and experiences are always connected and are a part of the researcher's personality and ability to make sense of things. Nonetheless, these do not restrict the research during which the researcher will at best learn new points of view. (Eskola & Suoranta 2005, p. 20)

I began my research with acquainting myself with the data. Although critical discourse analysis is inductive and iterative by nature, I began the analysis only after writing the majority of literature review and learning about critical discourse analysis. First, I familiarized myself with the material by reading it through and writing down the first impressions and feelings that I got. I began the process from the most recent articles from 2015 and from there moved onto the older articles. At this point I had decided on the preliminary research questions but nonetheless I wanted to be as open as possible to the material and accept any modifications to the research questions, if these should arise from the analysis. It is typical that the research questions alter while conducting the research. (Eskola & Suoranta 2005, p.15) In the beginning of the analysis process I aimed at grasping the texts in their entirety – what do they tell and what they leave unsaid. My focus of scrutiny was in media evolution and especially on what kind of understandings of new

media evolution are produced in the discourses by media professionals and journalists. I printed all the articles from Helsingin Sanomat' archives because I felt it would be easier to take notes and make cross-references by having the articles printed. Printing the articles also helped me to piece together my preliminary findings and come to conclusions.

I started reading through the articles by making spontaneous and random notes about details that intrigued me. I began my analysis and approaching data by thematizing as Eskola & Suoranta (1998, pp. 174-176) recommend. By exploring the different themes that emerge from the material, the researcher is able to compare the occurrences. Good thematizing requires understanding both the theory and empirical data, and it helps the researcher to piece together recurring manners. After having read the articles multiple times I started to mark down different themes that emerged from the texts as I read them. I tried to uncover attitudes, differences, and similarities in language. Finding themes was the first step in recognizing discourses and in my case, it facilitated the analysis process. I felt that I got a deeper sense of the research material. Eskola & Suoranta (2005, p.64) claim that it is important for researchers to get acquainted with their data in order to avoid focusing on contingencies that might emerge from the texts. I noticed that after a while thematizing became easier as I found more underlying themes from within the texts. The first major themes that emerged from the texts I defined as uncertainty, unfairness, avoiding responsibility, guilt, independence, possibility and disorderliness. I identified some others as well, but some of the themes were quite close to each other and overlapping. The most distinguishable theme was unfairness. Many articles revolved around the market situation in Finland, and especially the role of YLE. This theme was most dominant during 2013 when there was a lot of discussion about the taxation and the new YLE tax was introduced. The majority of the articles challenge the media market and the insuperable standing of YLE, which according to the journalists hinders fair competition and distorts power relations. In the following section I will illustrate how my analysis proceeded step by step. I chose the following extracts from two different articles under closer scrutiny.

Example extracts:

“The evolution of media is escalating. The editorial staff needs to stand straight; values need to be in order and the editorial autonomy strong. Helsingin Sanomat has strong future only if its journalism is in order and the editorial staff is left at peace and given the freedom that it deserves.” (Pentikäinen 28.05.2013)

“Traditional media is dumbfounded by the new challenges. Media is used to judging others but now media itself has become the target of critics... From journalist’s point of view, change is contradictory. When reading comments online it is hard not to miss the good old times when only sensible and well-behaving people were allowed participate – meaning people who journalists considered sensible and well-behaving. On the other hand, the justification of journalism is based on the world becoming a better place when the ruling powers are challenged and many people are heard... Surely media can’t give up its principles now when media itself is challenged?... As change is irrevocable, traditional media needs to adapt or wither away.” (Saarikoski 13.10.2015)

From the first example extract, I identified the following themes: integrity, professional identity, fairness, conditioning, professional pride, exemplariness and concern. The first extract uses figurative text to describe how journalists should face the changing industry. The second phrase implies that journalists need to be assertive and remain loyal to the journalistic quality standards. Pentikäinen emphasizes journalists’ high integrity. In my opinion, the most ruling themes that emerged from this extract were concern and strong professional identity. In the following example I have underlined the words that highlight these themes.

“The evolution of media is escalating. The editorial staff needs to stand straight; values need to be in order and the editorial autonomy strong. Helsingin Sanomat has strong future only if its journalism is in order and the editorial staff is left at peace and given the freedom that it deserves.” (Pentikäinen 28.05.2013)

The second example extract makes a comparison to the times before media evolution when journalistic standards were (presumably) in place. It states that the situation is contradictory; when people are allowed to participate more and more the principles and foundational premises of media are challenged. Finding emerging themes was more difficult from this extract but through careful scrutiny, I was able to identify the following themes: discrepancy, integrity, professional identity, exemplariness, resistance to change and willingness to embrace the new.

“Traditional media is dumbfounded by the new challenges. Media is used to judging others but now media itself has become the target of critics... From journalist’s point of view, change is contradictory. When reading comments online it is hard not to miss the good old times when only sensible and well-behaving people were allowed participate – meaning people who journalists considered sensible and well-behaving. On the other hand, the justification of journalism is based on the world becoming a better place when the ruling powers are challenged and many people are heard... Surely media can’t give up its principles now when media itself is challenged?... As change is irrevocable, traditional media needs to adapt or wither away.” (Saarikoski 13.10.2015)

The abovementioned extracts illustrate how I approached the material and how I began to analyze it. I began to understand how the texts repeated and imitated one another. I found links between texts and it became clear that there was a continuum between the texts. From thematizing I moved onto content typing. Content typing involves grouping the data into parallel types according to identified similarities. Content typing is similar to theme categorization, which refers to grouping the material into types by searching similarities and presenting the material with the help of combined types. Types can describe the material widely, interestingly and economically. (Eskola & Suoranta 1998, p.181) Eskola & Suoranta claim that content typing is an efficient way to provide examples to illustrate the research problems. (Eskola & Suoranta 1998, pp.174-181)

The research process of this thesis followed the inductive four-step model for critical discourse analysis developed by Vaara & Tienari. (2004, pp. 345-357) Idea of the model is

to proceed from a large number of texts to close reading of carefully selected texts. The model consists of the following steps:

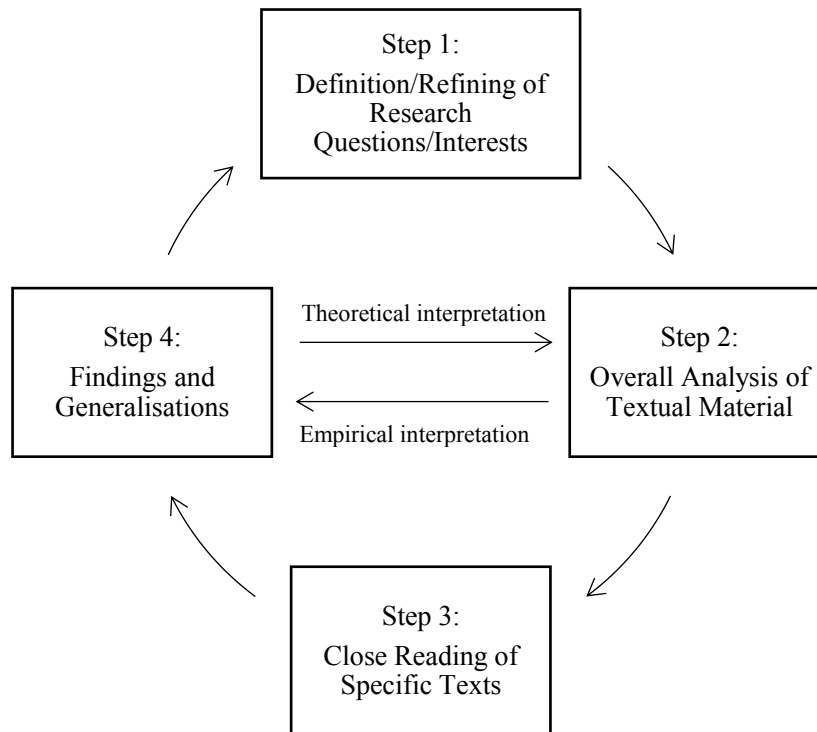


Figure 5: Critical discourse analysis as an inductive process (Vaara & Tienari 2004)

Step 1: Defining/refining of Research Questions/Interests

CDA's inductive nature implies that research questions are subject to change, even later during the research process. Vaara and Tienari note that only after the later stages of the analysis the researcher is able to determine if any of the initial themes are found in the material and if the research questions need modification. I defined my research questions in the beginning of the research process, but I kept my mind open to changes, if they were to rise during the research process.

Step 2: Overall Analysis of Textual Material

As for the textual material, Vaara and Tienari recommend going through a wide range of material before narrowing down the selection. Step 2 also provides a good background for contextual and intertextual understanding; the researcher should be able to understand how

the selected texts link with historical events and what kind of context it provides for the analysis. Vaara and Tienari describe this iterative process as ‘taking control’ of the totality of the textual material. The researcher should pay attention to what is unsaid which later on in the analysis process helps to understand taken-for-granted assumptions in the discourse, what concerns are given very little emphasis or ignored completely and which voices are not heard. Vaara and Tienari suggest structuring this part of the analysis thematically, like Eskola & Suoranta. (1998, p. 174) I went through a great amount of material about the media evolution before diving into the articles. Although I selected 54 articles for this research, at first I had close to 80 articles downloaded from Helsingin Sanomat archives.

Step 3: Close Reading of Specific Texts

This part of the analysis is creative work and a deep-dive into the texts. The researcher should be able to identify and describe the ways of making sense of the world in the textual representations and in addition recognize linkages to socio-cultural practices and ideologies within the texts.

Step 4: Findings and Generalizations

Finally, after close reading of texts, the findings from the study can be presented. Theoretical and empirical interpretation processes intertwine these four abovementioned steps. In the theoretical interpretation process, the empirical interpretation process is built on underlying theories. In the empirical interpretation process, the findings of the study are linked to the study’s theories in order to find similarities and differences.

Although I present the three discourses that I identified as separate entities, the reader should acknowledge that the discourses are intertwined: one extract might include elements from several discourses. I will present several extracts from the research material in order to demonstrate and clearly indicate how I came to my conclusions. With the extracts, reader can evaluate researcher’s interpretations and the theoretical logic, which I aim to take into account when explaining my interpretations. (Eskola & Suoranta 2005, p.181)

3.5 Credibility of this study

Discourse analysis does not pursue universal facts because the substance of interpretations is not universally admissible. Despite this, the findings need to have evidence and be well argued for. The purpose of discourse analysis is to make interpretations of language based on careful analysis. (Juhila & Suoninen 1999, p. 234)

Jokinen and Juhila (1991, p. 198) claim that using citations to describe the data is typical for discourse analytical studies. The objective is to depict the analysis process as clearly as possible so that the reader can make his/her own interpretations. Therefore, I have tried to describe my research process as clearly and coherently as possible so that it would be clear for the reader how I have analyzed the material and how I came up with the findings. I have also underlined the most significant words or sentences that in my opinion indicate the discourse distinctively to maximize the level of transparency and sharpen my analysis. As the material is available online, in the archives of Helsingin Sanomat, the reader can also easily access the material and make comparisons between his/her and my findings. Leitch & Palmer (2010=) state that the researcher's reflexivity and subjective role are important in critical discourse analytical studies. Therefore, as I base my research on public material, I will also avoid the danger of bias if I created the materials myself – which can happen when conducting and transcribing e.g. interviews.

In discourse analysis alternative findings are not excluded or considered as a risk and the aim is not to present facts that would supersede any other interpretations. (Juhila & Suoninen 1999, p.234) Regardless of the findings of this study, the data obtained from this study can by no means be generalized. This study only examines what Helsingin Sanomat journalists have written about media evolution, thus covering only a single topic from a specific source. Future research could study this subject further, as discussed in chapter 6.2.

4. Media in Finland

In this chapter I will focus on the context and field of media in Finland as it is essential to understand the Finnish media landscape for this study. First, I will give an overall outlook of the Finnish media system and its characteristics. Then, I will describe the largest players in the Finnish media, concentrating on the companies that are most relevant to this study. Finally, I will describe the press subsidies and the issues related to it as it is important to understand this aspect in the context of this study.

4.1. Finnish media landscape

According to Nieminen et al. (2013, pp.180-182), four main features characterize the Finnish media system:

- *High level of concentration:* The media market in Finland is dominated by a few companies. In newspaper publishing, Sanoma controls the majority of the market with 30% market share (in 2013, see Table 2). Along with Alma Media, the second biggest newspaper group, they dominate the market with a combined 52% market share.

	<i>Circulation, 1,000 copies</i>	<i>Market share, percent (of total paid circulation)</i>
Sanoma	499	30
Alma Media	369	22
Keskisuomalainen	199	12
TS Group	114	7

Table 2: The four largest newspaper groups in Finland, 2013 (Source: Ohlsson 2015)

- *Established division of markets:* Helsingin Sanomat is a major national newspaper, holding a circulation of 267 094 in 2015 (Statistics – Circulations, n.d.). Nieminen et al. (2013) also state that all regional newspapers have their own monopolies

regionally since there is no major market competition regionally. The only exception is the tabloid market, in which Sanoma and Alma Media compete with Ilta-Sanomat and Iltalehti. In 2013, the circulation of Ilta-Sanomat was 118 000 whereas for Iltalehti it was 77 345. (See Table 3)

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Circulation (2013)</i>	<i>Issues/week</i>	<i>Group</i>
Helsingin Sanomat	313 062	7	Sanoma
Ilta-Sanomat	118 358	6	Sanoma
Aamulehti	113 066	7	Alma Media
Turun Sanomat	94 185	7	TS-yhtymä
Iltalehti	77 345	6	Alma Media
Kaleva	69 540	7	Kaleva
Keskisuomalainen	61 163	7	Keskisuomalainen
Kauppalehti	57 367	5	Alma Media
Savon Sanomat	57 235	7	Keskisuomalainen
Etelä-Suomen Sanomat	51 444	7	Esan Kirjapaino

Table 3: Top ten daily paid-for newspapers by circulation in Finland, 2013 (Source: Ohlsson 2015)

- *Sound professional culture:* Nieminen et al. (2013) argue that media professionals and journalists in Finland are well educated and share a basic commitment to common quality standards. The Council of Mass Media in Finland (*Julkisen Sanan Neuvosto, JSN*) oversees and represents all main interest groups and monitors good journalistic practice.
- *Profitable national media structure:* The three-tier newspaper structure between national, regional and local papers remains reasonably profitable, even though the gross margin of Sanoma for example dropped with 12% in 2013 (See Table 4)

	<i>Total 2013 (EUR mills)</i>	<i>Growth 2012/2013 (%)</i>	<i>Operating result (EUR mills)</i>	<i>Pretax result (EUR mills)</i>	<i>Gross margin (%)</i>	<i>Net margin (%)</i>
Sanoma	2219	-7	-272	-325	-12	-15
Yle	466	6	5	4	1	1
Otava	302	-4	30	30	10	10
Alma Media	300	-6	24	22	8	7

Table 4: The largest media companies in the Finland according to Revenues, 2013 (Source: Ohlsson 2015)

Nieminen et al. (2013, p.183) claim that the Finnish media landscape is mainly challenged by the tension between the newspaper industry and the Finnish Broadcasting Company (Yle), cutting of editorial costs and charging for online content. Nieminen et al. state that the Finnish media have had the status “*national institutions*”, supported by the consensual social contract.

Out of all the Nordic countries, Finland has the largest proportion of publicly traded newspapers on the stock market. (Nordic Media Market 2015, p.41) Sanoma, Alma Media, Keskisuomalainen and Ilkka - four of the five biggest newspapers groups - are all listed on the Helsinki stock exchange. The biggest of them all is Sanoma, which in 2013 owned five newspapers and controlled 30 percent of the total national circulation (see Tables 5 and 6).

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Growth % 12-13
Sanoma	2396	2505	2622	2742	2926	3030	2768	2761	2746	2376	2219	-7
Yle	330	359	375	384	385	381	394	398	415	439	466	+6
Otava	220	230	233	246	234	237	223	223	260	315	302	-4
Alma Media	461	465	286	302	329	341	308	311	316	320	300	-6
TS Group	279	272	309	339	336	306	222	213	203	183	171	-7

Table 5: The five largest domestically controlled media companies: company revenues 2003-2013 (EUR millions)
(Source: Ohlsson 2015)

	Controlling ownership	Circulation (2013)	No of newspapers	Market share (%)
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Sanoma	Private (listed)	499 086	5	30
Alma Media	Private (listed)	368 798	9	22
Keskisuomalainen	Private (listed)	198 605	8	12
TS-yhtymä	Private (unlisted)	113 754	2	7
Ilkka	Private (listed)	71 218	2	4
Kaleva	Private (unlisted)	69 540	1	4
Mediatulo ESA	Private (unlisted)	61 282	2	4
KSF Media	Foundation (unlisted)	55 942	3	3
Pohjois-Karjalan Kirjapaino	Private (listed)	41 244	1	3
Aina Group	Private (unlisted)	38 149	2	2

Table 6: The ten largest newspaper groups in Finland according to circulation, 2013 (Source: Ohlsson 2015)

The Sanoma Group has evolved into a highly diversified media conglomerate, with interests in several different media branches, in several different countries. The group has an unequalled position on the national media market, and it also the second biggest media company in Scandinavia. *Helsingin Sanomat* is the best-known title of Sanoma and it is also the biggest newspaper in Scandinavia by circulation. (Helsingin Sanomat, n.d.) The largest individual shareholders of Sanoma are the Jane and Aatos Erkko Foundation, with 24.46 percent of the shares, and Antti Herlin, with 11.50 percent. (Largest shareholders, n.d.) The Jane and Aatos Erkko Foundation administers the former shareholdings of Aatos Erkko (1932–2012), the grandson of Eero Erkko, the founder of Helsingin Sanomat.

The second largest newspaper group in Finland is Alma Media. Alma Media has 22% of the total circulation (2013) with nine newspapers. (Ohlsson 2015) The group was formed in 1997, following a merger between Aamulehti Corporation and MTV Oy. Since transferring the broadcasting operations of Alma Media to the ownership of Nordic Broadcasting Company in 2005, the focus of the group's operations has been on newspapers, business information and online marketplaces. The best-known newspapers of Alma Media are *Kauppalehti*, the leading business media in Finland, *Aamulehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat*. The largest individual shareholders are Ilkka-Yhtymä Oyj – a Finnish media group operating out of Seinäjoki – and Mariatorp Oy, with 27.30 and 19.06 percent of the shares, respectively. (Major shareholders, 2016)

The Finnish Broadcasting Company, Yle, has long roots in the history of Finland. The national public-broadcasting company was founded in 1926 and it 99.98% owned by the Finnish state. (This is Yle, 2014) Yle operates four national television channels and 9 radio channels and over 20 regional radio stations and regional news from eight districts. As Finland is a bilingual country, Yle also provides TV and radio programming in Swedish. Yle operates under the Finnish Broadcasting Company Act, and its highest decision-making body, the Administrative Council, is elected by the Parliament. The duties of Yle are defined in a separate Act (Act on the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE 1380/1993, amended 474/2012). Section 7 (1) states that:

“The company shall be responsible for the provision of versatile and comprehensive television and radio programming with the related additional and extra services for all citizens under equal conditions. These and other content services related to public service may be provided in public communications networks nationally and regionally.” (Act on Yleisradio Oy, 2002)

For a long time Yle was funded by the revenues obtained from a broadcast receiving license fee payable by the owners of radio sets and television sets. In 2012, the final year of the license fee system, the public service fee amounted to €252 per household. However, in 2013 the license fee was replaced by the public broadcasting tax which is collected annually from private individuals and also from corporations. The Yle tax is progressive, ranging between €51 and €143 depending on the income of the individual taxpayer. (Ohlsson 2015) In Finland, citizens below a specific income level are exempted from the public service tax. In 2015, Yle collected 508 million euros in tax from taxpayers. In radio, Yle had legal monopoly until 1985 and national monopoly until 1995. In 1995, national radio networks were allowed. Yle began experimental broadcasts in television in 1957 under the name Suomen Television (STV).

4.1.1 Press subsidies

Deregulation and marketization have affected the Finnish media landscape, following the trends in the EU. (van Cuilenburg and McQuail 2003) Deregulation and marketization have not only led to the crisis of printed press – between 2001 and 2013 the newspaper circulation dropped with 30%. (Statistics Finland 2016) The European trends have also affected the public press subsidies. Nieminen et al. (2013) claim that the issue of public press subsidies is “*being addresses within the sphere of economic rationality, rather than as a means of promoting pluralism within the Finnish public sphere.*” All the government-mandated public newspaper subsidies have been affected by these changes. Nieminen et al. add that the Finnish model is unique compared to other European countries. Finland is one of the few countries where newspapers enjoy neither direct nor indirect forms of state aid. The VAT rate is an exception; from the beginning of 2013 the VAT was set to 10% for newspapers as the general VAT rate is 24%. Until 2011 the VAT was 0%.

The press subsidies have fundamentally changed in the 21st century. Today, all notable press subsidies have been cut. In 2008, the last remnants of direct subsidies were abolished and by 2012 also all indirect subsidies. (Nieminen et al. 2013, p.189) For several decades, Finland employed a direct subsidy system similar to the one in Norway and Sweden. In recent years, however, there has been a significant change in policy concerning state involvement in the Finnish newspaper market. Over the past couple of decades, Finland has gradually terminated its direct support to the newspaper industry (see Table 7).

1989	1992	1999	2003	2009
43.9	37.4	12.6	12.6	0.5

Table 7: Direct state subsidies to the Finnish Press, 1989-2009 (million euros) (Source: Nieminen et al. 2013)

Since 2008, only two limited forms of direct support remain in Finland: the first is directed at publications in minority languages, the second is directed at culture and opinion publications. Nieminen et al. see the drastic change in public policy toward the press as one of many signs of a broader shift in Finnish political life, and equate discontinuation of the press subsidies with other market-oriented social policies, such as cuts in public

spending on health care and old age pensions. (2013, p.190) When it comes to direct press subsidies, Finland has thus chosen the path previously taken by Iceland. Finnish newspaper subscriptions were also exempted from VAT for many decades. In 2012, however, a new policy was introduced, forcing printed subscribed newspapers and magazines to pay a reduced VAT of nine percent, a rate that has since been raised to ten percent. Like in Norway and Sweden, electronic newspapers are taxable at the regular VAT rate, as are single-copy newspapers. The new tax was a direct consequence of the financial crisis, and one of many measures to balance the budget deficit in times of recession. (Ohlsson 2015)

In chapter 4 I have described the context of this study. The Finnish media landscape is going through an evolution that will continue to shape the industry in the years to come. Traditional media have however maintained their historically strong position even during the digital era. Yle, the public service medium, is highly appreciated but commercial medias argue that Yle's strong online presence and wide program listing distort the market and reduce the revenues. Commercial medias, mostly owned by domestic owners, are facing challenges as the market changes. Even though there are multiple newspapers in Finland, the media market and circulation is dominated by a few distinct media groups which also have cross-media holdings. Digitalization has resulted in centralization of news-gathering, not only within media groups but also among them. This results in negative implications for news diversity.

5. Discourses on media evolution

In this chapter I will present the discourses of media evolution that I was able to identify through careful analysis of the research material. The three discourses are the following: discourse of powerlessness, discourse of possibility and discourse of strong professional identity. I will describe each of these discourses and demonstrate how I came to the conclusions. I will also aim at analyzing what kind of consequences these discourses will create for media evolution.

This chapter will focus on describing the results of the analysis process. With extracts and quotes I will demonstrate my own interpretations and how my outlook evolved. I will present each discourse separately and demonstrate how those discourses in question were represented in the texts and what kind of meanings of media evolution are built in each discourse. Some of the discourses are overlapping, i.e. multiple discourses can be found in a single extract. By presenting each discourse separately I can demonstrate how these discourses are repeated and how I identified each of the discourses.

5.1 Understandings of media evolution

All the quotes and extracts are in their original shape. The publishing date of each article is mentioned right after the extract and the list of articles, along with their writers can be found in appendix II. Only the most relevant quotes or extracts to each discourse are presented. However, the same extract might include characteristics of another discourse as well. Three dots in brackets [(...)] indicate that there is text right before or after the text. I have also underlined the most significant words or sentences that in my opinion refer to the discourse distinctively. The reader can thus follow how I have come to the findings and conclusions.

5.1.1 Discourse of powerlessness

One of the most dominant discourses in the articles was powerlessness, emphasizing the unfair market situation and distorted competition. The changes that have shaped the

industry so much have skewed the media market and made the competition distorted. This discourse is built by describing the situation as unfair, uncontrollable and unjust, and many focus on blaming others, avoiding responsibility, invoking to uncertain conditions and resisting change. Commercial media have argued that Yle's strong online presence and wide program listing distort the media market and reduce the revenue for other players. Extracts 1, 2 and 3 are examples of articles that highlight unfairness of the market and refer to the financing of Yle, which creates unequal starting points for others. According to the second extract, there are three levels in the Finnish media market: one level consists of companies that pay tax, one of international conglomerates that take advantage of tax paradises and the third level is Yle, which '*lives on tax money*'.

EXTRACT 1.

"At the same time when magazines are moving to content subject to charge, Yle operates on the same markets for free, supported by tax payers." (HS 12.05.2015)

EXTRACT 2.

"In the media competition all competitors should, in principle, have the same premises. Now it isn't so but there are three levels." (HS 26.04.2015)

EXTRACT 3.

"...The high tax hinders the necessary development of digital content during a time when we should devote to the development work." (HS 12.05.2015)

Many journalists appeal to unfairness of Yle's standing which support the discourse. The shift in the funding mechanism in 2013 replaced the license fee with direct tax. For commercial media the new funding model feels unfair. Yle is also guaranteed a yearly income by law while others need to compete for the revenue. However, despite the unique standing of Yle, Helsingin Sanomat is doing quite well. With almost every fifth Finn reading Helsingin Sanomat (970 000 readers), Helsingin Sanomat is said to be the most influential quality daily in Finland. There is practically no competition for HS among the subscription-based national dailies which makes Finland's press market quite unique. The

juxtaposition, us versus Yle or some other international media conglomerate, is present in almost all of the studied articles. Extract 4, 5 and 6 demonstrate this juxtaposition.

EXTRACT 4.

“The state authorities should create a nation-wide media strategy. At the moment the position of Yle, financed by tax revenue, is superior. It can’t be so that only one player is supported in a democratic society, and that this player in question is subordinate to the Parliament. It is not good for democracy or for the media business.” (HS 20.12.2012)

EXTRACT 5.

“Lowering the Yle tax should be taken into consideration in order to guarantee fair competition. Also magazines carry the important task of public service to spread information.” (HS 12.05.2015)

EXTRACT 6.

“In the media industry all competitors should have somewhat similar starting points. No it is not so, and now there are people in three layers in the industry” (HS 26.4.2015)

The article from which extract 5 was taken from refers to the media landscape in Norway. In Norway the government has freed printed newspapers and magazines of VAT. The unfairness of the situation and also the actions of the Finnish government are criticized in many comments. It is indicated that the Finnish government does not sufficiently support the domestic media and does not “... *appreciate the societal and educational role [of media] that also supports democracy.*” (HS 12.05.2015)

A sense of powerlessness comes across from the articles commenting the unfair circumstances and market landscape. Instead of looking at ways in which content can leverage additional advertising revenue, commercial media and journalists in particular seem to focus on the juxtaposition. Kaius Niemi, the editor-in-chief of Helsingin Sanomat criticized Yle and its role in the society and connects the role of Yle to the changing industry. According to Niemi, the role of Yle is too pompous and big to a small country

like Finland and it does not consider its effects to the rest of the industry. Niemi claims that Yle takes unfair advantage of its position within the industry:

EXTRACT 7.

“The management of Yle has begun to take advantage of the unclear situation and acts as a hegemonic market leader.” (HS 1.2.2015)

EXTRACT 8.

“... the management of Yle carries out a strategy of market leader, not of a public servant.” (HS 1.2.2015)

Atte Jääskeläinen, the editor-in-chief of Yle, responded to Niemi’s criticism by stating that:

EXTRACT 9.

“... as commercial media is sucking blood from each other – as it should be in competitive markets – it blames Yle of its problems and compares figures intentionally.” (HS 2.2.2015)

Jääskeläinen’s response to Niemi’s accusations touches upon the changes in the media landscape as well. Jääskeläinen states that after MTV3 and Nelonen were freed from paying the operating license fee to Yle in 2002, Yle has managed to keep its viewers although having been forced to cut resources. Yle is not the only actor under accusation. The CEO of Alma Media, Kai Telanne, further claims that it is the Finnish postal service Posti that causes media companies to falter. Telanne states that Posti requests even higher prices for delivering magazines which will affect especially the smaller magazines that cannot handle the increases in prices (HS 14.2.2014). Also big international companies, such as Google, are blamed for distorting the competition as in extract 10. Also audience migration from traditional media sources is seen as a threat. It pressures media companies to reinvent their business models, as seen in extract 11.

EXTRACT 10.

“The competition gets even tougher because of some unnamed international conglomerates that are in the industry just to make money.” (HS 26.4.2015)

EXTRACT 11.

“There are many differences between American and Finnish media, but there is one common factor: few traditional medias have successfully managed to convince people that their content is worth paying for.” (HS 09.12.2012)

Uncertainty was another theme supporting the discourse of powerlessness. The actors in media are uncertain of the future and what media will be in the future. While traditional media platforms, such as newspapers, will for the time being keep their standing, the new ways of consuming media products will continue to evolve. User-generated content, UGC, enables people to take part in the discussion and reflect on the mass media. The emergence of new platforms and the development of consumer trends and behavior is also seen as a threat.

EXTRACT 12.

“Previously consumer was satisfied with newspapers but now the need is satisfied with many different types of services from various sources.” (HS 06.02.2015)

Overall the comments about the media evolution seemed to repeat the same themes. Lack of control is mirrored from the abovementioned themes, and extract 13 emphasizes this distinctively. A sense of powerlessness is also mirrored in the concern for journalistic work and its future. The changes in the media industry force journalists to work under pressure, and in the articles journalists express their concern for the profession, as seen in extract 14. Extract 14 highlights the unavoidable future, as if there was nothing to be done to fight against it.

EXTRACT 13.

“Over 50% of journalists think that the evolution of media is not in the industry’s control.”
(HS 15.4.2010)

EXTRACT 14.

“Professional journalists – although they are far from perfect – have a significant role in supervising policy makers, presenting opposing views and educating people about common matters. There will be less of such reporters in the future, they will work for yet weaker medias and many of them reach less and less people.” (HS 09.12.2012)

The discourse of powerlessness is built through themes of unfairness, uncertainty, lack of control and resistance to change. The changes within the industry are regarded as insuperable obstacles in front which journalists are feeble. The main reason for powerlessness seems to be the juxtaposition within the market and distorted competition between Yle, international media companies and other commercial medias.

5.1.2 Discourse of possibility

Although change is seen mostly as a negative thing, the discourse of possibility is also present in the analyzed articles. Change in this discourse is seen as enabling. Coping with the change is possible, if newspapers lead with example and continue to strive for high journalistic standards. Change motivates more, when it is seen as a possibility. The success of a change and reaching goals, and probability of these ever happening, are crucial. When employees are offered concrete and realistic goals in a state of change and the change is well argued for, the entire change process is less painful and employees’ motivation remains intact. (Järvinen 2002, pp.91-92) Motivation is closely related to personal significance. Changes in the media market provide diverse content and possibilities to make meaningful journalism for bigger audiences. Extracts 15 and 16 disregard the changes within the industry and claim that changes belong to the nature of journalism and new ways of working are not a threat.

EXTRACT 15.

“The editorial staff needs to work under a lot of pressure from outside and inside, but that is a part of a big newspaper’s nature and independent journalism.” (HS 28.5.2013)

EXTRACT 16.

“The digital side is ever growing, but it needs to be remembered that it is also just a way to work. We are doing digitally a lot of things that were previously done analogically.” (HS 26.4.2015)

The former editor-in-chief of Helsingin Sanomat, Reetta Meriläinen, also supports this view in extract 17 by stating that:

EXTRACT 17.

“New media are the best thing that has happened to traditional media. Both benefit... Traditional media now has a quality controller - social media that quickly gives feedback.”” (HS 1.4.2014)

Extract 18 is taken from an editorial titled “Sanoma’s new leap to Europe” in which the author recites the new direction of Sanoma and the focal points in the future. The winner in the media competition is however the one who can see and take advantage of the opportunities created by media convergence.

EXTRACT 18.

“In a digitalized world there is also competition for the strongest media platform...The big question for Sanoma is how the possibilities created by media convergence are realized and utilized.” (HS 28.03.2013)

The discourse of possibility is also mirrored in concern for the industry. The journalists recognize the need for change and responding to change at risk to failure. Extracts 19 and 20 reflect the concern.

EXTRACT 19.

“The quality of Finnish media content should be improved a lot. Otherwise Finland might become the colony of content.” (HS 20.12.2012)

EXTRACT 20.

“Also we as spectators change. We become more and more demanding. So called passive television watching will fall... Interesting [content] needs to be broadcasted at once.” (HS 23.11.2013)

The changes to which many journalists cling on to in the discourse of powerlessness are in some extracts regarded as inconsequential, as seen in extracts 21 and 22, and the focus is on the possibilities of future media landscape. The journalists who wrote these articles also try to see beyond the surface and the most evident change drivers and get to the root cause of the problem.

EXTRACT 21.

“Even though digitalization and internet revolutionized the media, the most influential change happened in people’s relationship to media. A revolution happened... The media evolution was supported by the questioning of power institutions at the time. The institutions had to re-earn their respect...” (HS 1.4.2014)

EXTRACT 22.

“Instead of arguing can Yle be on the Internet, we need to have courage to ask how we envisage the Finnish media landscape to change... Market forces can effectively change the media landscape and will surely do so. In an open society we need to be able to tell consumers how their choices affect. Therefore, answers to questions need to be sought in a pluralistic manner and analyzed believably, built on the same cornerstones as media itself.” (HS 28.05.2012)

The discourse of possibility encircles the change with positive consequences and creates positive atmosphere around it. In the discourse of possibility change is enabled by the new technologies and the changed media market. Change is not a threat but rather a race or a challenge that can be endured by connecting the old with the new. Extract 23 sums this up by stating that media companies need to be able to connect the foundations of media with the new technologies that were made possible by digitalization. Extract 24 uses strong metaphors of the revolutionized industry but indicates that there is need for exemplary action to navigate in the 'storm'.

EXTRACT 23.

"The turmoil of communication has shaken up the remaining structures of a protected economy. Newspapers and other media compete with each other for people's time and money. Competition is tough because due to technical improvements there are more players in the fragmented communication environment – also such players that we know nothing about. The one who succeeds in this race is the one who can connect its traditions to the new, wider world that is shaped by the Internet." (HS 16.11.2009)

EXTRACT 24.

"The roots of journalism are deep in the Finnish society. There is demand for quality journalism if there is enough belief for it within the industry. The current evolution can be reversed. Good journalism demands for investments and advocates... Even though communication is changing, it can't be purely business... If media, commercialized to the core, collapsed in this storm, confused people at its roots might be left wondering how such a big and mighty actor was so rotten from the inside." (HS 11.09.2005)

Extract 25 bypasses the media landscape, as well as the unfairness, and thus changes the perspective. The entire article is about the big picture; what the society needs from media and what newspapers need to focus on amidst these changes. The need for exemplary action is highlighted in this extract, and free conversation, enabled and supported by the new media landscape, is a way to survive.

EXTRACT 25.

“The founders of Päivälehti (former Helsingin Sanomat) talked about the meaning of free conversation. Against this foundation every death of a single newspaper is an enormous setback. We need as many public voices as possible so that our society would be pluralist and liberal. We need strong media which financial base is as healthy as Helsingin Sanoma’s. We also need strong Yleisradio to maintain the public service that commercial media cannot manage... Newspapers need to rely on strong journalistic quality as the core of content. Quality journalism is the right answer for thriving in the future. As for publishing houses, they need to be far-sighted enough to secure sufficient resources for the editorial staff to create strong content, during poor economic times as well.” (HS 16.11.2009)

Quite interestingly, the CEO of Alma Media, Kaj Telanne, stated that *“the media industry is in no particular crisis”* and that *“Reporters are extremely interested in their own industry which takes excessive space in the papers.”* (HS 24.11.2013) Telanne claims that the revenues from digital media will soon begin to compensate for the losses from print media. Also Kaius Niemi wrote in his article titled “Newspaper advances, journalism improves” that journalism itself is not in crisis. Niemi claims that digitalization has resulted in new possibilities to report news better. Furthermore, in extract 26, Niemi states that news is not just read anymore, referring to the changes in consumer trends.

EXTRACT 26.

“For reporters, digitalization has created unforeseen possibilities to tell about things in-depth, illustrate complicated matters with interactive graphics and utilize moving image in HSTV. News is not just read from Helsingin Sanomat, it is experienced.” (HS 16.11.2014).

The discourse of possibility stems from seizing new opportunities, taking advantage of the changes and using media convergence as an asset. In this discourse, the changes within the media market are not imminent but rather a challenge for newspapers and publishing houses to seize new dimensions. Journalists also seem to recognize the need for change and exemplary action to confront the new media market.

5.1.3 Discourse of strong professional identity

EXTRACT 27.

“Especially in newspaper publishing, the editorial staff and management have differing views about the course of change and ways how to rise to the challenge.” (HS 14.04.2010)

EXTRACT 28.

“Media is going through changes when both money and audiences are moving to unexpected directions. Competition for attention leads to fast and frivolous journalism. Many companies don’t have a clue what to do and how.” (HS 05.10.2011)

Many of the studied articles evolved around concern. There are clear contradictions between journalists and management about how to face the new industry, as seen in extracts 27 and 28. The future of journalistic work is uncertain and the rapidly changing media landscape has left journalists astonished. The discourse of strong professional identity is built through themes of concern, integrity, resistance to change and pressure. The evolution of media in this discourse is mirrored to maintaining the strong journalistic standards amidst the changing environment. Change is therefore seen as a necessary evil which must be endured, maintaining strong professional integrity at the same time. In the discourse change is seen as a threat to journalism.

EXTRACT 29.

“Journalists need to position themselves as the interpreters of social groups. At the same time different actors in the society struggle to bring forth their message directly at citizens. That adds up to the pressure directed at professionally produced journalism.” (HS 28.05.2012)

Digitalization has led to many changes. Competition has intensified and increased the news cycle speed. Journalists are made redundant and thus the workload of individual journalists has increased. The following extracts emphasize the challenges of journalistic work. Change is forcing journalists to settle for chewed material and refuses them of using their

proficiency to the best of their abilities. Approximately 36% of published news articles are based on PR material, according to a survey done in 2011. In addition, fifth of news output in 2010 was published by some other outlets. (Juntunen, 2011) It is argued that this type of second-hand journalism dilutes the principle of verification, as seen in extract 30. In short, journalists are under pressure to do more with less resources.

EXTRACT 30.

“Journalists recede from the original sources and move on to deal with completed copies. Supply withers when similar telegrams are published everywhere. When readers are inured to yesterday’s headlines, how many are willing to pay for comprehensive, thoroughly analyzed and critical news material which requires effort, expertise and resources?” (HS 11.9.2005)

Digitalization has also lead to declining standards in newsrooms. While the importance of reliability is widely recognized in online news, in practice there is considerable pressure to publish unverified news online. This is caused by the rapidly evolving competition.

“Counting clicks” is a common phenomenon. Media companies are concerned with which stories are clicked on the web and how many times and by whom, even despite these figures do not indicate which stories are really read or considered as good journalism. Johannes Koponen, the founder of a news aggregation service Scoopinon, states that counting clicks puts pressure on journalists to write attention-seeking, shorter news to attract advertising revenue, which is often based on clicks. (Pernu, 2012) The concern for declining standards is expressed in extract 31.

EXTRACT 31.

“The evolution of media is escalating. The editorial staff needs to stand straight, values need to be in order and the editorial autonomy strong. Helsingin Sanomat has strong future only if its journalism is in order and the editorial staff is left at peace and given the freedom that it deserves.” (HS 28.05.2013)

The ethics of journalism are also touched upon in the research materials. Speed and competition challenge the journalistic work and the high standards. The following extract was written about the case of Enkeli-Elisa (Angel-Elisa), which told the story of a 15-year-old girl who had been bullied and later committed suicide. The media started to write about the case after it became hugely popular on social media. However, the story was fictional. Some of the journalists admitted being wrong in writing about the story but some were less apologetic saying that although the particular story was not true, the phenomenon – kids being bullied – was true. Extract 32 reflects the concern for maintaining the ethics of journalism despite the emergence of ‘*quote journalism*’.

EXTRACT 32.

“The competition for speed and success has produced a new type of journalism, quote journalism, in which others are quoted without even investigating the background. It is a tedious phenomenon because it can generate false phenomena. Touching story or good purpose cannot bypass the duty to ‘strive for truthful communication’, as demanded by the journalistic guidelines. Even though absolute truth is an unattainable dream, it needs to be pursued nonetheless – acknowledging that it can never be attained. Credibility is the prerequisite of news media. (HS 13.7.2012)

The discourse of professional identity is built in concern for quality as well. It seems that the authors feel pressure for their work and how they get along in the competition. The pressure falls upon their own work or upon a broader entirety, as seen in extracts 33, 34 and 35. Although the second-hand journalism might provide economically sustainable news quicker and at a lower cost, such trend threatens to impact the quality and diversity of the overall news offer. The concern for this is expressed in the following extracts.

EXTRACT 33.

“Newspapers need to rely on strong journalistic quality as the core of content. Quality journalism is the right answer for thriving in the future. As for publishing houses, they need to be far-sighted enough to secure sufficient resources for the editorial staff to create strong content, during poor economic times as well.” (HS 16.11.2009)

EXTRACT 34.

“The editorial cooperation of media companies will crush the Finnish multivoiced culture journalism and I don’t want to support this progression.” (HS 9.4.2013)

EXTRACT 35.

“Criticism for media content’s quality is increasing. Although quality is basically in the eyes of the reader and the viewer, its fundamental qualities are veracity, meaning, coverage and transparency. The only uncompromising indicator of quality is the resources used for journalism.” (HS 28.05.2012)

Although change in this discourse is mostly seen as a threat that affect the journalistic work, some of the articles claim that change is somewhat contradictory. In extract 36, the author states that change is rather a challenge than a threat, challenging journalists to uphold strong professional standards despite the changes in the industry. Van der Haak, Parks and Castells (2012) claim that the changing landscape does not mean that journalism would be in crisis but rather represent an explosion of it. Open arenas for participation simply add to the actors within the industry - it does not necessarily mean that the foundations of media would be faltering. In extract 37, change is taken into account and acted upon, without compromising the high quality journalism. Changes within the industry are answered with changing the ways of working in order to guarantee quality.

EXTRACT 36.

“From journalist’s point of view change is contradictory. When reading comments online it is hard not miss the good old times when only sensible and well-behaving people were allowed participate – meaning people who were considered sensible and well-behaving by journalists. On the other hand, the justification of journalism is based on the world becoming a better place when the ruling powers are challenged and many people are heard... Surely media cannot give up its principles now when media itself is challenged?” (HS 13.10.2015)

EXTRACT 37.

“The new model [that supported dismissals of that time] is designed so that we can guarantee high quality journalism with less people. By changing the ways we work we can ensure that journalists can focus on content and tasks in which their special know-how excels.” (HS 8.1.2014)

Extract 38 is exceptional in a sense that it does not settle for blaming evident factors, but tries to see the fundamental change drivers that have caused newspapers' crisis. The article is about the societal role of Helsingin Sanomat and how the withering of institutions has changed journalism. At the end the author claims that journalists should 'become citizens once again' in order to answer to the challenges and rediscover journalism.

EXTRACT 38.

“They say that newspapers are in crisis. Why? The problem of newspapers isn't the internet or the aging of business models, not the erosion of copyrights, not the world becoming more and more entertainment focused and commercial, not the criticality of readers nor the accelerating competition for readers' interest. The problem of newspapers – and Helsingin Sanomat in particular – is the narrowing power of institutions and that the readers' relation to information has changed...It is not about citizens making journalism but journalists becoming citizens once again.” (HS 21.11.2009)

Even despite all the changes, the need for quality journalism is recognized. Journalistic work is like a dream job for the authors – it per se and the content of their work motivates them. This indicates that the authors focus on the jobs and their motivation is not affected by the changing environment, as expressed in extract 39.

EXTRACT 39.

“Journalism is now needed more than ever. Someone to collect and interpret current events professionally.” (HS 24.10.2015)

The discourse of strong professional identity revolves around concern for the profession and strong professional integrity to uphold the high quality journalism even though the

industry is going through an evolution. The need for quality journalism and uncompromised ethics are recognized even though there are differing opinions on which direction to take.

5.2 Discussion on discourses

I identified three discourses of the research material based on my analysis. I named the discourses as 1) discourse of powerlessness, 2) discourse of possibility and 3) discourse of strong professional identity. All of the abovementioned discourses describe the media evolution from journalists' and media professionals' point of view. Media evolution has different meanings in each of these discourses and its basis depends on the discourse. The discourse of powerlessness is the strongest one of the three discourses and media evolution culminates in this discourse clearly. In the identified discourses, media evolution is described with diverse phrases and examples.

The discourse of powerlessness occurred the most times in the selected articles. Powerlessness, unfairness, or some way of indicating the unjust situation within the Finnish media market was present in almost all of the articles. Most of the criticism was directed at Yle, but also Google and other global conglomerates were mentioned as well. Power relations usually emerge within and between discourses. The strongest discourses might become hegemonic discourses, as they can be difficult to question. (Jokinen & Juhila, 1993) The discourse of powerlessness was the strongest of the identified discourses, thus making it a hegemonic discourse. At the center of the discourse of powerlessness seems to be unfairness and inequality, to which journalists often refer to. Overall, lack of control is reflected from the studied articles which indicates that journalists feel they cannot do much to fight the unequal situation. Media evolution and change are unpredictable force of nature, that leaves journalists astonished when confronted with it. Journalists do not have any control over the revolutionary dynamics. In the studied articles, the discourse of powerlessness occurred mainly in the articles written in the past four years. The reason for this incidence might be the acceleration of digitalization and emergence and adoption of social media.

Although negative aspects of media evolution were prevalent, journalists also saw evolution as enabling. In the discourse of possibility media evolution is associated with the possibilities that e.g. digitalization creates. Every new device even before the 21st century and the acceleration of digitalization, have changed the media industry significantly. Therefore, in this discourse journalists see evolution belonging to the nature of journalism and media as a whole. Digitalization, data journalism, and new media have created an unrivalled landscape that has more possibilities than threats. The discourse of possibility is promising regarding the future and vitality of media. As mentioned in the extracts, development of newspapers offers new directions to journalism as well, improving it significantly.

The discourse of strong professional identity was represented in concern for the future of journalistic work and the declining ethics. Maintaining high integrity and strong professional identity reflect from the studied articles clearly. Journalists express concern for the future and recognize the need to strive for high quality journalism in order to maintain audiences' belief in journalism and media in its entirety. Change and media evolution in this discourse are seen as a threat that can affect journalistic work and its credibility. Although change pressures journalists to publish (sometimes unverified) news at a fast pace, journalists recognize the need to maintain standards and good ethics. The most imminent threats for journalism seem to be competition and speed, followed by the emergence of 'quote journalism' and 'cut-and-paste journalism'. Journalists' high integrity in the studied articles is reflected in their desire to strive for truthful communication and journalism. However, many journalists express that there are not enough resources at the moment to uphold high quality journalism which is defined with veracity, meaning, coverage and transparency.

As mentioned above, some of the discourses are overlapping in the same extracts. In the following extract, there are elements from both the discourse of powerlessness and possibility. The author invokes to the unfair competition and position of Yle, thus reaffirming the discourse of powerlessness. However, the author also notes that development work is essential now, repeating the themes from the discourse of possibility.

Although both discourses are present in the extract, the discourse of powerlessness and themes that represent it are emphasized.

“As the meaning of digital content rises in society it is contradictory that the government collects more taxes from digital newspapers than printed newspapers. The high tax hinders the development of digital content in a time when development work should be invested in... At the same time when magazines are moving to content subject to charge, Yle operates on the same markets for free, supported by tax payers.” (HS 12.05.2015)

A common theme to all the identified discourses was concern. In the discourse of powerlessness, concern was expressed over the media landscape and contradictory competition that distorts the market. In the discourse of possibility, journalists were concerned about the future of journalistic work and recognized the need to respond to change. In the discourse of strong professional identity, concern was expressed over the declining quality and ethics. Both the discourse of possibility and discourse of strong professional identity see media evolution and change as positive dynamics, rather as a challenge than a threat for the industry. In the discourse of powerlessness, media evolution is something that journalists cannot fight against, and they must endure the features of the Finnish media landscape as they have no way of affecting the situation.

6. Conclusions

Chapter six is the concluding section of this study. This chapter will first summarize the objective, theoretical framework, research questions and methodology of this study. Lastly, based on the findings of the present thesis, suggestions for further research will be provided in section 6.2.

6.1 Research summary

This section summarizes the objective, research questions, research methodology and data collection of this study. The aim of this research was to demonstrate how media evolution is represented in the discourses by journalists. I chose Helsingin Sanomat as my source of research material mainly due to its strong standing in the Finnish media landscape. From the analyzed articles I identified three different discourses that represent the media evolution. In addition to this, I wanted to see how the changing media landscape is defined in the texts and what kind of understandings are produced off of it. The following conclusions are based on the concrete extracts and quotes that I presented in the previous chapter.

According to Fairclough (1995) media often engages in a somewhat cynical and aggressive position towards certain institutions, evens and even personalities, which affects the establishment of discourse of those institutions and organizations. Journalism is a discursive re-construction of reality. Because media has such power in the modern society, how identities and relationships are represented in media text can raise significant cultural questions. Therefore, media discourses can have a deep ideological nature. Media has an influential role in portraying the economic, social and cultural changes and discourses are developed as a part of social and cultural change. Thus, media texts are essential in studying these changes. The sociocultural context of the popular press should be taken into consideration in the investigation of discourse practices. (Fairclough 1995) In this study I have applied critical discourse analysis to a number of media texts, newspaper articles, revolving around media evolution and its effects on journalism and media landscape. The research questions that I defined in the introduction were the following:

R1 What kind of discourses of media evolution can be found from the studied articles?

R2 What kind of understandings and meanings of media evolution are produced in the discourses by media professionals and journalists?

R3 What kind of tensions exist between the identified discourses?

The discourses that I identified were the following: discourse of powerlessness, discourse of possibility and discourse of strong professional identity. All the three identified discourses represent media evolution and describe a certain point of view for it. The identified discourses of media evolution present a rather fragmented image of media evolution. Based on my analysis, it is difficult to unambiguously explain media evolution from journalists' point of view. Media evolution and interpretations of it are formed and developed along with media itself. The timeframe for this research was 10 years, from August 2005 until October 2015, and over the years writing about media evolution has increased. In the research material media evolution is described with themes of concern, pressure, possibility and integrity. Nonetheless, within these discourses there are shared meanings associated with media evolution. Based on my analysis, media evolution is first and foremost seen as 'a necessary evil' that journalists cannot affect. Media evolution has distorted the power relations and the Finnish media landscape does not offer equal premises for all. However, although journalists are concerned and uncertain about the future of journalistic work, journalists also see media evolution as an enabling driver that helps in developing modern journalism. These themes are seen both in the discourse of possibility and discourse of strong professional identity.

As Lehtonen argues, media conveys journalists' perception of reality and echoes the political and commercial demands of its interest group. (Lehtonen 2002, p.60) However, media does not reflect social reality objectively, but produces a certain image of reality as a result of various selection, interpretation and specification processes. (Hall 1992, p. 188) Based on the analyzed articles, it is evident that journalists and media have chosen sides, although media should write objectively about events and people. Reese calls this as 'framing' which indicates how events or themes have been organized and how relevance is conveyed. (Reese 2003, pp.6-11) Therefore, media generates meanings by choosing how it

represents central issues. Lehtonen argues that the way media reflects social reality is wrong in at least two ways: it is distorted by the reporter's own way of understanding reality and also by the media company's own point of view. (Lehtonen 2002, p. 62) The way media evolution is represented and framed in the studied articles supports the abovementioned views. Journalists frame media evolution echoing their own concern for the future. As stated by the CEO of Alma Media, Kaj Telanne, "*the media industry is in no particular crisis*" and that "*Reporters are extremely interested in their own industry which takes excessive space in the papers.*" (HS 24.11.2013) In addition, as I selected Helsingin Sanomat as the source of the research material, it frames media evolution from the point of view of commercial media. If I were to analyze media texts about media evolution by public service medias, such as Yle in Finland, the framing would surely be deviating.

In the studied articles, journalists recognize the need to maintain strong professional identity and integrity as the environment is becoming more challenging. Journalists also acknowledge that strong journalistic quality is their strongest asset among the competition for speed and success. Van der Haak et al. (2012) claim that there is still a great need for professional journalism and thus professional journalism can rise to a new level of quality and autonomy. Amidst the increased competition and attention seeking, quality journalism requires for special talent. Journalist should pay attention to explanation, contextualization and sense-making to provide reasons within the information overload. Van der Haak et al. (2012) suggest that journalists should use their journalistic networks in order to optimize resources and generate synergies because alone, as individuals, journalists are cannot cope with the higher demands. Herkman (Herkman in Väliverronen 2009, p.49) supports this view by stating that independent journalism requires critical self-assessment to survive in the medialized world. By evaluating journalistic practices, the principles that define modern market-based journalism can be expressed. According to Herkman, the credibility of media is at stake.

Overall, the discourses identified in this study convey a mixed outlook about the state and future of media market. Although journalists see the future of media giving them new possibilities to develop journalistic work, media evolution is also a threat that forces management to resort to dismissals. Olkinuora (2012, p. 40) claims that fragmentation

could actually benefit media and pluralism. Despite the cost-cuttings and redundancies, overall news providers have managed to preserve their profitability. Sanoma and other commercial medias have long argued that Yle's online presence is inhibiting commercial competition, as seen in the extracts as well, but on the other hand, the position of Sanoma and other commercial medias have strengthened over recent decades. Commercial media have benefitted from the pressure from the EU to suspend any barriers to free competition. However, these aspects are almost completely ignored and left unsaid in the studied articles. Journalists cling on to blaming the most evident factors, distorted competition and unfair media landscape in Finland, and do not seem to see beyond that. However, the discourse of strong professional identity indicates that journalists want to maintain strong ethics and integrity in their work, and by doing that respond to the criticism of declining quality.

6.2 Suggestions for future research

This research cannot be generalized to cover all medias due to the restricted research material. However, I feel that this research provides a good overview of modern media evolution and how media itself describes it. If studied further, it would be interesting to find out if there are differences between commercial medias and public service broadcasting, as their premises are different. Also, the same research can be applied to international medias to see if there are significant differences between journalists from Finland and from other countries. In addition, it could be interesting to find out how the emergence of internet affected journalists in the late 20th century, and compare if these same discourses can be found from media texts during that time.

7. References

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8. Appendices

Appendix I: List of selected keywords

median murros

median muutos

globalis* media

mediakenttä

digitalis* media

viihteellistymisen media

medialis*

mediatalous

Digitalisaatio

media myllerrys

media kritiikki

mediamaailma

mediamurros

mediamaisema

media

medialisoituminen

globalisoituminen

digitalisaatio

muuttuva mediaympäristö

Appendix II: List of articles

2015

“Culture doctor Heikki Hellman: ‘Journalism is now needed more than ever’” Antti Majander, 24.10.2015

“Media at the hangman’s stage” Noora Mattila, column, 15.8.2015

“An entertainer begins to renovate MTV” Juhani Saarinen 20.8.2015

“The CEO of MTV Heikki Rotko dismissed”, Anna-Sofia Nieminen, Culture, 14.5.2015

“Norway defends domestic media, how about Finland?” editorial, 12.5.2015

“Media companies have divided into three estates”, Teemu Luukka, Economy, 26.4.2015

“Herlin: The meaning of trust is growing in media”, Teemu Luukka, Economy, 26.4.2015

“Magazines are the grief of Sanoma”, Juhani Saarinen, Economy, 6.2.2015

“The problems of commercial media are commercial”, Atte Jääskeläinen (editor-in-chief of Yle), opinion, 2.2.2015

“The time is running out to clarify Yle’s mission”, Kaius Niemi, editorial, 1.2.2015

2014

“Telanne, the CEO of Alma: Itella kills newspapers”, Economy, 14.2.2014

“Newspaper advances, journalism improves” Kaius Niemi, Sunday, 16.11.2014

“Putting you through to the communications department”, Pekka Mykkänen, Sunday, 2.2.2014

“Revolutionary collision to the digital brick wall”, Reetta Meriläinen, editorial, 1.4.2014

2013

“Telanne from Alma Media doesn’t want tax money for media”, Matti Tyysniemi, economy, 24.11.2013

“The press wades from distress” Anu Nousiainen, Sunday, 24.11.2013

“Everything for the television viewer and now!”, Katri Kallionpää, Culture, 23.11.2013

“Katainen worries about the status of media”, Jussi Pullinen, Domestic news, 28.10.2013

“In addition to media critique, one must learn media skills”, Editorial, 28.8.2013

“Dumbfounding departure”, Mikael Pentikäinen, Kotimaa, 28.5.2013

“Who needs a critic”, Jarkko Lyytinen, culture, 9.4.2013

“Editors: Culture journalism is well”, Katri Kallionpää and Kristiina Markkanen, Culture, 9.4.2013

“The evolution of media makes publishing houses find new direction”, Editorial, 28.3.2013

“When you have feelings”, Annamari Sipilä, Editorial, 2.1.2013

2012

“Brace yourself, Finnish media!”, Katri Kallionpää, Culture, 20.12.2012

“The evolution of media challenges also consumers”, Ari Valjakka (retired editor-in-chief), opinion, 13.12.2012

“Probably the best media in the world – and still facing change”, Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, Sunday, 9.12.2012

“First sports were outsourced”, Anna-Liina Kauhanen, Culture, 26.9.2012

“Angel-Elisa forces self-criticism for media”, Mikael Pentikäinen, Domestic news, 13.7.2012

“Digitalisation creates growth and jobs”, Tero Ojanperä, editorial, 29.6.2012

“Quality journalism isn’t free”, Hannu Olkinuora, editorial, 28.5.2012

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